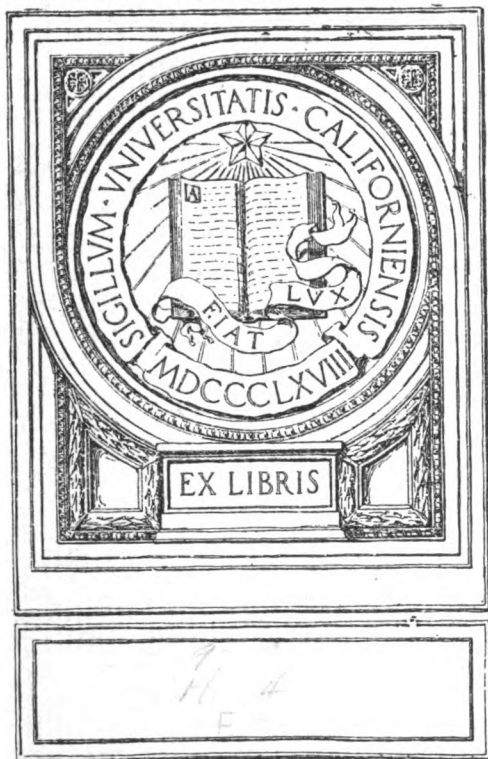


UC-NRLF



\$B 6 869

EXCHANGE



PUBLICATIONS OF THE UNIVERSITY OF MANCHESTER

FRENCH SERIES

No. IV.

LE LAI D'HAVELOC

Published by the University of Manchester at
THE UNIVERSITY PRESS (H. M. McKECHINE, M.A., Secretary),
23 LIME GROVE, OXFORD ROAD, MANCHESTER
LONGMANS, GREEN & CO.
LONDON : 39 Paternoster Row, E.C.4
NEW YORK : 55 Fifth Avenue
TORONTO : 210 Victoria Street
BOMBAY : 336 Hornby Road
CALCUTTA : 6 Old Court House Street
MADRAS : 167 Mount Road

Havelok the Dane
LE LAI D'HAVELOC

AND

GAIMAR'S HAVELOC EPISODE

EDITED BY
ALEXANDER BELL, M.A.
(Deacon's School, Peterborough)

MANCHESTER - - - AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS
LONDON, NEW YORK, &c. - - LONGMANS, GREEN & CO.

1925

to VIBU
ALPHABET

1922

PUBLICATIONS OF THE UNIVERSITY OF MANCHESTER
No. CLXXI

MADE IN ENGLAND
All rights reserved

HQ 1483
H3
1925
MAIN

PREFACE

IT is now many years since I announced my intention of editing Gaimar's "Estoire des Engleis." Very early it became apparent that the relations between his Haveloc episode and the "Lai d'Haveloc" would have to be discussed, and that a critical text of the latter was also necessary in order to do this satisfactorily. This preliminary investigation has occupied the leisure hours of the last five years, with the result now made public. Much still remains to do before the "Estoire" itself can appear, but work already done will perhaps serve as an excuse for preferring the orthography of the Durham MS. to that of the Rolls edition in quotations from Gaimar. Practical considerations have led to the use of 'th' and 'd' in place of special signs in the few quotations from the A.S. Chronicle and elsewhere.

To all who have helped to make this book possible I tender here my thanks: to the authorities at Durham (especially the late Dean Kitchin), Lincoln, and Heralds' College for facilities in consulting MSS. in their possession; to T. FitzRoy Fenwick, Esq., of Thirlestane House, Cheltenham, for permission to use the MS. of the "Lai d'Haveloc" in his possession, and to Miss D. M. Jenkins for transcribing the same; to Professor Baker, of Sheffield University, for the interest he has taken in my work since first he introduced me to Gaimar; to Canon Foster, of Lincoln; to Professor Barbier, of Leeds University; to Mr. E. G. R. Waters; to Mr. H. M. McKechnie for trouble taken in seeing my book through the press, and to my father for assistance in the revision of proofs; finally, to the many other friends who have endured the riding of the hobby-horse.

Peterborough, September 1925.

A.B.

CONTENTS

	<i>page</i>
Preface	v
Introduction	i
§ 1 The "Prologue" to Gaimar	1
§ 2 The Haveloc Episode in Gaimar	6
§ 3 The Date of the "Lai d'Haveloc"	19
§ 4 The "Lai" and Gaimar	29
§ 5 Gaimar and his source	60
§ 6 The MSS. of Gaimar's Haveloc Episode	79
§ 7 The MSS. of the "Lai d'Haveloc"	90
§ 8 The Language of the "Lai d'Haveloc"	102
§ 9 The Versification of the "Lai d'Haveloc"	123
§10 The Constitution, and Orthography, of the Texts	134
Gaimar : Haveloc	143
Le Lai d'Haveloc	176
Notes	221
Bibliographical Note	245
Glossary	247
Index of Names	259
Index	267

.

GAIMAR'S HAVELOC AND LE LAI D'HAVELOC

INTRODUCTION

THE story of Haveloc is preserved in two early Anglo-Norman versions : (1) the episode relating to him which figures in three out of the four MSS. of Gaimar's " *Estoire des Engleis*," and (2) the " *Lai d'Haveloc*," which is found in a miscellaneous collection of short poems and also in the remaining MS. of Gaimar. Though both have several times been printed, the early editions are almost inaccessible and the latest—that in the *Rolls Series*—is far from satisfactory from the point of view of the student of Old French. Into the various discussions of the Haveloc story, and of these two poems in particular, errors of detail have crept which are mostly due to the shortcomings of the published materials. In view of the wide circle of students and readers to whom an adequate presentation of the two Old French texts is not only of interest, but also a necessity, no apology is needed for supplying this want in a convenient and, it is to be hoped, satisfactory manner and form.

§ I. THE "PROLOGUE" TO GAIMAR

At the very outset of this section of our investigations into the Haveloc story we are confronted by a difference of opinion as to where exactly Gaimar's " *Estoire des Engleis* "

I

A

begins. In his article "Die Haveloksaage bei Gaimar" (*Romanische Studien*, iv.) Kupferschmidt says (p. 423), "dass diese 40 Verse¹ von Gaimar selbst herrühren, ist nicht anzunehmen, dagegen spricht einmal die Unwahrscheinlichkeit dass Gaimar dasjenige, was er soeben erzählt hat, in so verworrener Weise wiederholen wird und zweitens der Widerspruch zwischen v. 7 ff. und v. 822 ff." and ascribes them to the copyist who first united Wace's "Brut" and Gaimar's "Estoire" in the same manuscript. Vising also denies the authenticity of these same lines in his "Étude sur le dialecte anglo-normand du 12 siècle," basing his objections largely on metrical grounds, and also, apparently, on the occurrence of the word 'Engelant' (v. 30), which is not found elsewhere in the poem. On the other hand, Skeat, in a footnote to § 23 of the introduction to his Clarendon Press edition of "Havelok the Dane," appears to consider the Haveloc episode in Gaimar as beginning with v. 35, the previous lines being from 'another book by Gaimar, viz. his translation of "The Brut" from Geoffrey of Monmouth.' Throughout this introduction I shall, for convenience, refer to vv. 1-38 as the 'prologue,' though the term is not quite an exact description of their nature.

It will be seen that in my reading of v. 21 I have been guided by Gaimar's usage elsewhere, and have thus suggested my belief in the authenticity of the 'prologue.' In view of the shortness of the passage the direct evidence of rime and metre is almost entirely negative; but, at the same time, there are parallels in vocabulary, in diction, and in style which make it exceedingly probable, on linguistic grounds alone, that we owe these lines to Gaimar. The use of 'Engelant' in v. 30 was, as we have seen, a stumbling

¹ viz. vv. 1-40 in the numbering of the edition in the Rolls Series; the corresponding passage in the present edition is vv. 1-38; for references to the main body of the "Estoire" the numbering of the Rolls edition is retained.

INTRODUCTION

block to Visig; but, if we remember that Gaimar knew English, that he translated the A.S. Chronicle, that he constantly uses 'Norhumberlant' and 'Cumberlant,' and that, in vv. 1468, 2716, he uses the form 'Mercenelant,' even where the English word does not occur in his source, then there does not seem to be any valid reason for denying the 'prologue' to Gaimar on that account. To the parallels in vocabulary I attach in this case very little importance, but adduce the principal ones for the sake of completeness: 'casement' v. 2 and vv. 1274, 6200; 'cumpaine' v. 24 and vv. 948, 2828; and 'travail' (=tribulation) v. 16 and v. 3164. These in diction are, I think, of more value, noticeably that between vv. 21-2: 'E li Engleis tuz jurz creisseient Kar d'ultremer suvent veneient,' and vv. 3465-6: 'E lur force tuz dis creisseit Qui d'ultre mer suvent veneit'; and, most interesting of all, that between vv. 17-18: 'Si funt Escot e li Pecteis Li Galweien e li Cumbreis,' and vv. 3525-6: 'Sur les Escoz e sur Cumbreis Sur [Galweien] e sur Pecteis.' In each case we have the same uncertainty of readings in the first term of the second line (cf. textual note to vv. 17-18), pointing to some unusual form in the original. Turning to the question of style, the most noticeable feature in the 'prologue' is the repetition of almost identical lines at a short interval, as in vv. 16, 20; for which there are parallels in the "Estoire" both in the part based directly on the A.S. Chronicle (cf. vv. 3042, 3048) and in the more extended narrative of the later part (cf. vv. 4006, 4013, 4052), and, with especially marked effect, in the Buern Bucecarle episode (cf. vv. 2659, 2675; vv. 2747, 2757; vv. 2759, 2762). Considered separately, these resemblances are not, perhaps, sufficient to establish the authenticity of the 'prologue'; but, collectively, they warrant the assumption that the passage under discussion is by Gaimar. Having thus far no reason to deny the 'prologue' to our author, let us now turn to examine the con-

tents, which, it is alleged (*v. supra*), are but a mangled account of what has gone before and in direct contradiction to what follows.

In the first place, the passage, strictly speaking, does not constitute a prologue, but is really a connecting link between the "Estoire" which follows and a British history which preceded it, and falls naturally into three divisions: (a) vv. 1-14 giving a brief statement of the conditions following Arthur's death; (b) vv. 15-34 foreshadowing vaguely the Anglo-Saxon conquest of Britain; (c) vv. 35-38 alluding to the presence of Danes in this country at this date, in anticipation of the Haveloc story. In all the extant MSS. of Gaimar's "Estoire" his work follows immediately on Wace's "Roman de Brut," and the theory has been generally held that the 'prologue' was written by the scribe of the MS. in which Wace's and Gaimar's works were first united. If that were the case, we should expect to find in (a) some reference at least to the events mentioned in the previous work, at all events in the concluding portion of it. What we do find is this: (1) a general reference to Constantine (*v. 2*), which might refer directly to Geoffrey of Monmouth just as well as to Wace; (2) a reference to the succession of Yvain (*vv. 3-4*), with statements as to his kingdom not explicitly made in either Geoffrey or Wace, though deducible from either; (3) a reference to the calling in of the Saxons by Modred and to his giving them land, both that from beyond Humber to the confines of Scotland (*cf. v. 9*) and that which had been given by Vortigern to Hengist (*cf. v. 12*), with the important difference that the Saxon leader is not Cheldric, as in Geoffrey and Wace, but 'Certiz' (*v. 8*).

Turning now to the second part (b) of the 'prologue,' we find that in what follows immediately on *v. 38* there is not only no reference to the Anglo-Saxon conquest, but at relation of something entirely different, *viz.* the Haveloc story; and it is really this sudden transition which has

INTRODUCTION

engendered the suspicion that the 'prologue' is not by Gaimar. If, however, we omit for the present this disturbing element, and read on until we return with vv. 819 ff. to Anglo-Saxon history, we shall at once be struck by the fact that these verses are the true continuation of vv. 15-34, as their simple juxtaposition will sufficiently indicate :

- vv. 15-16. Este vus ci une achaisun: En grant travail entrent
Bretun . . .
- vv. 21-26. E li Engleis tuz jurz creisseient Kar d'ultremer
suvent veneient;
Cil de Saisuine e d'Alemaine S'ajustoent a lur
cumpaine.
Pur dan Hengis lur anceisur Les autres firent d'els
seigneur . . .
- vv. 31-34. Este vus ci une achaisun Parquei Bretaine perdid
sun nun.
E les nevoz Arthur regnerent Qui encuntre Engleis
guereierent.
- vv. 819-26. Dunc ot des la nativited Bien pres de cinc cenz anz
passed
N'en ot que sul cinc anz a dire. L'altre Certiz od
sun navire
Arivad a Cert[ice]sore—[Co est] un muncel qui
pert uncore—
La arivad il e sun fiz, Engleis l'apelerent Kenriz.

But still stronger proof that this is the correct sequence is afforded by the expression 'l'altre Certiz' in v. 822 which implies a definite distinction between the historical Saxon leader and some other 'Certiz' previously referred to by Gaimar.¹ The only 'Certiz,' however, of whom any

¹ cf. v. 1783, where Gaimar uses the same expression to distinguish Wilfrid, the successor of John of Beverley, from St. Wilfrid; v. 4215, where he distinguishes Edmund Ironside from 'sun uncle l'altre Edmund'; and v. 5233, where he distinguishes Harold of England from 'l'altre Harald,' king of Norway.

mention has been made so far is the one in v. 8. Thus we have a reference by Gaimar himself to the 'prologue,' and, consequently, a confirmation of the authenticity of the passage already affirmed on linguistic grounds. Further, as vv. 819 ff. originally followed directly on v. 34, we see that the whole Haveloc episode in Gaimar is an addition made after his translation of the A.S. Chronicle had been commenced, and have definite proof that Gaimar actually wrote a work dealing in some way with the history of Britain prior to the fifth century—a work which was, in all probability, a translation of Geoffrey of Monmouth's book as far as the death of Arthur, the concluding portions of his predecessor's chronicle being presumably omitted as clashing with his new source, *viz.* the A.S. Chronicle.

§ 2. THE HAVELOC EPISODE IN GAIMAR

Though the abrupt transitions at the beginning and end of the Haveloc episode in the "Estoire," which we have seen to be undoubtedly an addition, early gave rise to the supposition that the passage was very possibly an interpolation by a later scribe, this view never found general acceptance and was indeed successfully refuted by Kupferschmidt (*op. cit.*). Consequently I shall in this section emphasise another aspect of the question and content myself with a simple restatement of the salient points of my predecessor's detailed linguistic researches bearing on the relation of this episode to Gaimar's acknowledged work.

Sir F. Madden, in the introduction to his edition of "Havelok the Dane," while acknowledging the reasonableness of the opinion that the 'story of Havelok and Argentille is an interpolation by a later hand,' pointed to the subse-

INTRODUCTION

quent allusions in vv. 897-900, vv. 2075-88, vv. 2985-8 as presumptive evidence of the authenticity of the Haveloc episode. Kupferschmidt, however (p. 415), says these passages prove nothing more than Gaimar's acquaintance with a king Haveloc and remarks that it is noteworthy that in no instance does the author refer to the story presumably so fully related by him, 'während er es sonst liebt, auf vorher Gesagtes hinzuweisen.' In proof hereof he refers to three lines (vv. 1324, 1908, 2291), in the first of which we have the phrase 'dunt ai escrit,' in the other two 'dunt dis ainceis.' In every case such phrases are open to the suspicion of being mere padding, but, assuming they have their full face value, what is their meaning? In v. 1324 we read 'E saint Oswald dunt ai escrit' viz. in vv. 1289 ff.; in v. 1908 we read 'E as nevoz dunt dis ainceis,' viz. the two youths, Sibriht and Cyneheard, who figure in Gaimar's version of the famous Cynewulf annal, and we find the phrase actually occurs in the author's account of the people to whom he refers; in v. 2291 we read 'Cil Leutecan dunt dis ainceis,' viz. in v. 2284; in v. 3005 we read 'E les cuntes dunt des ainz dis,' viz. in vv. 2985 ff.; and, finally, in v. 4765 we find 'Mes si cum jo des ainz vus dis' referring back to v. 4759. These expressions are all in the past tense, but a similar construction, referring to the present and equal in force to the Mod. E. present continuous tense, is not unknown to Gaimar, e.g. v. 1299 'En icel tens dunt ci vus di'; v. 3202 'Icels Daneis dunt jo vus di'; v. 5407 'En icel an dunt jo vus di.' This suggests a special force attaching to the expression under discussion, and it is clear from the context in each instance that we have a reference to the immediate past equivalent to the Mod. E. construction with 'have just.' This same usage is also found in the Haveloc episode, where in v. 568 we read 'Les dous vadlez dunt dis des ainz'—referring to Haveloc's foster brothers; since we cannot suppose that the author is referring to some previous

account by him of Grim's two sons, the above is here the only possible interpretation. Thus we see that none of the instances brought forward by Kupferschmidt are parallel to the Haveloc allusions quoted by Madden.

One or two instances, indeed, of another kind rather suggest that Gaimar, when alluding to some person or event with whom, or which, he had earlier dealt, does so in a casual way as though assuming that the mere mention of a name will recall the whole incident to the reader. Thus in vv. 933 ff. he relates how Ida of Northumbria 'Baemburc restora; Dechaette ert e mult defraite De si cum Eubrac l'ot ainz faite,' though the A.S. Chronicle says Ida founded the place and Geoffrey does not, apparently, include it in the list of towns built by Ebrawc. Again, in v. 4377, describing the partition of England between Canute and Edmund Ironside, Gaimar says the boundary goes 'al chemin Que fist faire li reis Belin.' Further, in relating the conquests of William Rufus, Gaimar adds, vv. 5973 ff., 'E s'il peust alques regner A Rome alast pur chalengier L'ancien dreit d'icel pais Que Brennes i ot e Belins.' Finally, in support of my contention that Gaimar does not usually call attention in so many words to the fact that he is alluding to something already related by him, I may adduce vv. 2045-50, where there is a reference to the Cynewulf episode :

Dous anz apres sun muriant Dui rei alerent guereiant.
Li uns aveit nun Kenehert, Kenewulf ocist en apert
E quatre vinz humes e quatre Fist Kenehert iloc abatre ;

but not the slightest indication on the author's part that he has already described the incident in detail.

Of the three allusions to Haveloc in Gaimar pointed out by Madden, that in vv. 2985 ff. is least important as it is primarily conditioned by the rime and would not necessarily convey to the reader any impression beyond that of some Danish leader of the time of Alfred. That in vv. 879 ff. occurs at the commencement of the Wasing episode, and there we have mentioned Haveloc and Edelsi, both names abso-

lutely without point unless they had already figured in the narrative. Further, this episode has the same appearance of subsequent addition as the Haveloc one, the introductory lines : *En Nortfolc erent li Daneis Del tens que Haveloc fud reis* ' being parallel in intention to vv. 35-38 and designed, evidently, to bring into connection with the period (c. 500 A.D.) a story which did not necessarily, nor originally, belong there and to show the Danes already settled in England before the English conquest. Again, that the reference to the Haveloc episode is intentional would appear almost certain from the noteworthy manner in which Haveloc's domain of Norfolk is distinguished from the country 'qui fud rei Edelsis' (v. 900), for we remember that in the Haveloc episode Norfolk and Suffolk are Danish and Edelsi's realm British. The remaining allusion is that in vv. 2075 ff., where, after relating, in accordance with the A.S. Chronicle, the first Danish raid, Gaimar goes on to ascribe to the raiders the design of conquering the whole of England because :

vv. 2077-82. *Entr'els orent esgardez E dit que ert lur eritez ;
E mult humes de lur lignage Orent le regne en eritage
Ainz que unques Engleis i entrast Ne hum de
Saisuine i habitast,*

which reminds us of the English claim alluded to in the 'prologue,' and cites as proof of their prior claim the fact that :

vv. 2083-88. *Li reis Danes tint le regned Qui de Danemarche
fud ned
Si fist [Adel] briht,¹ Haveloc E plus en nomerent
avoc ;
Purquei il distrent par verited, Bretaine ert lur dreit
erited,*

¹ Variants : R. Ailbrith, D.L. Ecbrict. This divergence in reading recalls that in the Haveloc episode, where R. reads 'Adelbriht' and D.L. 'Achebriht.' Further, we note a similar but reverse divergence in v. 3166, where R. has 'Ecbrithstane' and D.L. 'Elbrithestaine.'

where we have Haveloc and another person—this time a Danish king—who figure in the episode mentioned in close connection with each other. Moreover, these two allusions have this one point in common with the Haveloc episode: all three lay stress on a Danish occupation of England prior to the arrival of the English at the end of the fifth century. Now, in the graphic account of the culminating struggle between Canute and Edmund Ironside, when a parley has been arranged and the two are to join in single combat in order to decide the fate of the kingdom, it is just this prior settlement of the Danes which is made the starting point for Canute's offer of reconciliation and for the amicable outcome of the meeting.

Before considering this allusion in more detail, and in order fully to appreciate its bearing on the question under discussion, it will be as well to digress and consider in broad outline the position of this passage in Gaimar's work from another point of view. From the period of the English conquest to the reign of Edgar the main source of Gaimar's history is the A.S. Chronicle, which he follows, on the whole, faithfully, allowing for occasional misunderstandings, and he only diverges from it at any length in the story of Buern Bucecarle and his calling in of the Danes in furtherance of his private vengeance. With the reign of Edgar, for some reason or other, our author's attitude to the Chronicle changes, and he turns, with a perceptible feeling of relief, to more interesting and picturesque, if less accurate, sources; consequently, we have much more of the real Gaimar than in the earlier half of the "*Estoire*." Though his stories were derived apparently from different sources, there is evident a delight in telling them for their own sake and a desire to link up the various incidents he has to relate into one connected chain of cause and effect, and the whole section from Edgar's reign to the Norman conquest shows distinct signs of a feeling for composition, in the wider sense,

INTRODUCTION

which had hitherto been absent from our author's work. The love story of Edgar and Elftroed is the first link in the chain ; from that arises the rivalry between the partisans of Edward and Ethelred (*cf.* vv. 3983 ff.), resulting in the murder of the former ; the succession of the latter to the throne is opposed by Edward's friends (vv. 4115 ff.), and, to secure his position, Ethelred is advised to contract an alliance with Normandy (vv. 4125 ff.). After his death, the dissensions of the nobles result in the failure of Edmund Ironside (vv. 4253 ff. and vv. 4447 ff.), and allow Canute to secure the throne. The story now repeats itself as if to enforce the moral : Emma's jealousy brings about the exile of the sons of Edmund ; partisanship and ambition on the part of Godwin result in the death of Alfred ; and, once more, dissensions among the nobles bring about the failure of the national leader, Harold, and the advent of the foreigner, William. If we bear in mind the period at which Gaimar wrote—approximately the reign of Stephen—we might almost conclude that this section was deliberately designed as a warning to his readers and as an incitement to national unity ; at any rate the whole section is very apposite to the conditions existing, in the middle of the twelfth century, in England.

This sense of composition, which in this portion of Gaimar's work has wide scope, can only manifest itself in minor ways in the earlier, and more faithfully translated, section of his history. Nevertheless we do meet with it, not only in the lengthy Buern Bucecarle episode, and, in spite of his misunderstandings and mistakes, in the account of the deaths of Cynewulf and Cyneheard, but also on numerous occasions of a less important nature. In vv. 1485–1520, where he is translating the A.S. Chronicle entry *s.a.* 685, we find that he deviates from the order in his source in this way : he first gives the episcopal entries and then finishes off with the rise of Ceadwalla of Wessex and the death of

Lothere of Kent, thus suggesting a connection with the events of the following year, *viz.* that the West Saxon monarch profited by the change in the Kentish succession to harry that country. Further, we have mention of two battles, which are entirely due to Gaimar's sense of composition, coming in these instances to the rescue of his faulty comprehension : in vv. 2023-34 he makes, out of a fight between the Franks and the Saxons on the continent, a pirate's raid on the south coast of England at Portsmouth ; and in vv. 2169-72, as a result of his confusion of Lindisfarne and Lindsey, he makes Offa of Mercia suffer a defeat at the hands of the Danes which that monarch never received in reality.

Enough has thus been said to show that a feeling for composition is present in Gaimar, and we can now turn to a renewed consideration of the claim made by Canute (vv. 4319 ff.) at his meeting with Edmund Ironside in these terms :

Pres de mil anz l'ot Dane ainceis Que unc i entrad Certiz
li reis ;
Certiz fud li tuen ancien E li reis Danes fud li mien,
Danes li reis la tint en chief ; Modred donad Certiz sun fief.

In this passage we have another reference to king Dan's reign in England and to a Danish occupation prior to Modred's donation of land to 'Certiz,' this latter event being alluded to in the 'prologue' in terms which seem to indicate a previous fuller treatment by Gaimar. For that part of the claim which refers to the English there is, then, some basis, but for the Danish side there is, unless we accept the Haveloc episode as Gaimar's, none ; but, if there is no basis to the claim, the whole appeal becomes pointless, for it is made on the assumption that the facts are known by Edmund (and by the reader) to be as stated.

Now, the Haveloc episode is certainly, and the Wasing

INTRODUCTION

episode probably, an addition—by whom made is left open for the present—to the text of the “*Estoire*”; the claim made in vv. 2075 ff. on the occasion of the first Danish raid is an addition to the statement in the *Chronicle* and gives the impression of having been deliberately added with reference to the two former, and to the later Canute, episodes. Certainly the four are in close connection and fit in very appositely. The intelligent reader, who has followed the narrative, arrives at the climax of the struggle between Dane and Saxon—the single combat between Canute and Edmund Ironside, arranged with due solemnity and precautions, and reminiscent of the Scandinavian ‘*holm-gang*.’ Then comes the claim that king Dan ruled the country long before the English arrived there. King Dan? Where was that name mentioned before? When we were told how the Danes began their invasions in king Egbert’s time. True it was always thought that was the first occasion on which they came, but what did our author say? That they came to claim their inheritance because king Dan and his successors, Adelbriht and Haveloc, ruled the country. So he said, but did he give any proof? Yes; when the West Saxons were busy settling in the south of England, and before ever Ida or Ella appeared in the north, the Danes were in East Anglia, and had been there from the time of Haveloc, and held the land which formerly belonged to king Edelsi. He, as our author told us only just a little earlier in his history, tried to cheat his niece, who was the wife of Haveloc and the daughter of Adelbriht, out of her inheritance, and they all lived about the same time as Constantine, the nephew of Arthur. Consequently, for the twelfth century reader, the wealth of evidence afforded by the detailed Haveloc story is placed just in the right position to corroborate the claim advanced by Canute, and must, even to the modern student, have been placed there by the author of the later incident, that is, by Gaimar himself.

Thus we see that the references to the Haveloc story, which Madden pointed out in support of the authenticity of the episode, have a much greater bearing on the question than Kupferschmidt would allow ; but, though the unity of thought outlined above is strong enough to support the presumption that Gaimar made the addition to his chronicle, we are not yet in a position to assert that the author of the episode and the author of the "Estoire" are one and the same person. Therefore we are now face to face with the question of interpolation, and to this question the answer can only be given by a linguistic and stylistic comparison of the episode and of the undoubted work of Gaimar. In pursuing this investigation, however, two circumstances must be kept in mind : the disproportion in length, which tends to invalidate any conclusion drawn from the non-occurrence of particular rimes in the episode ; and the close approximation in date—for even if interpolated the episode cannot be later than *c.* 1170, since the MS. tradition alone shows it to be as early as if not earlier than Fantosme's chronicle—which means that if the dialect is the same there is not likely to be any appreciable difference in phonology. As this, and the allied questions of style and versification, have been treated by Kupferschmidt (*op. cit.*) in considerable detail, and as my own investigations lead, in their broad lines, to similar results, I shall on these matters restrict myself to the procedure indicated at the head of this section.

In view of the subject matter and of the origins of the MSS., it is *a priori* probable that the dialect of the episode is similar to that of the "Estoire" and, specifically, Anglo-Norman.¹

¹ If we accept the statements of the longer epilogue, that of R., at their face value, then the "Estoire" was undoubtedly written in England and should show Anglo-Norman traces ; that this epilogue is authentic is my present opinion, for which I hope to adduce evidence at a later date.

This assumption is best tested by a consideration of the following points :

1. *Treatment of AN and EN*

In both the episode and the Chronicle the distinction is absolute with the exception of *savant : talent* 347, 8 and *tenz : asquanz* 3145, 6, both words in EN being not uncommonly found riming with AN in Anglo-Norman.

2. *Treatment of AIN and EIN*

These were completely confused in England by the middle of the twelfth century ; here we find a clear case in *plain : serein* 765, 6 and another not so certain in view of the latitude Gaimar allows himself in proper names, in *Cunversaine : meine* (vb.) 5771, 2 ; further, we note the same value ascribed to *plein* (<plenum), for we find it riming with *pain* 447, 8 and with *main* 4033, 4.

3. *Treatment of E and IE*

As confusion only occurs in the episode in the ending *-ier*, the other cases occurring in Gaimar cannot fairly be taken into account. Considering this one ending we find two cases in the episode, vv. 360, 692, though possibly in the former the author may have had *araisnier* in mind, and five cases in Gaimar, 3255, 4628, 4730, 6226, 6512, the last being in the epilogue to R. Special mention should be made of *regned*, which is found only in rime with E in the episode (4x), but both with E (14x) and with IE (18x) in Gaimar.

4. *Treatment of UM and UN*

The only rime words which are involved are *hum* and *num*, which rime, either with each other or with a learned word, e.g. *pallium*, on one occasion in the episode and on ten in Gaimar, or else, more usually, with words in *-un*, 9x and 31x respectively. The derivative of *-umus* should be mentioned separately : in the episode it rimes 4x, but only with itself ; in Gaimar 5x with itself, 1x with *-um*, and 3x with *-un*.

5. *Treatment of U (<Latin short U) and U (<Latin UI)*

If we adopt the reading of D.L. we shall then have a case of this characteristic A.N. confusion in *sumes : cuneumes* 371, 2.

Both the episode and the chronicle, then, belong to the same dialect—Anglo-Norman—but they do not show its peculiarities to any marked extent. They have, however, other points in common.

6. *Confusion of L and L'*

This occurs with *-eil* in *cunseil : fel* 515, 6 and *:-ketel* 3071, 2 ; with *-il* in *gupil : il* 279, 80 and *eissil : Avril* 3247, 8 (in *eissil : gentil* 2135, 6 we may possibly, but not I think very probably, have the by-form from *gentilem* to which Suchier refers, Grammar § 63).

7. *Confusion of L and R*

Both use *cuntraille* 411, 774 ; 1346, 2062, 3327 and *navire (: empire)* 757 ; 3519.

8. *Treatment of Qui (<Cogito)*

This is found riming with *lui* 353 ; 2215 ; also in Gaimar with *di* 1645 and with forms from *-ivit* ; this reduction is not met with in the episode, but a parallel is afforded by *quite (<cocta) : dite* 287, 8.

Turning now to the question of Hiatus and Elision we find *si* (<sic) ; *li* (nom. s. and p.) ; *li* (dat.) ; *qui* (nom. s. and p.) treated alike in both, *i.e.* always in hiatus (the option which K pfer Schmidt allows in the case of *li* (nom. s.) appears to be due rather to case-confusion than to elision. The treatment of *co*, which is alike in both, is noteworthy : before *est* it usually coalesces, though it may stand in hiatus ; before other parts of 'estre' with initial vowel and before other initial vowels hiatus is the rule.

In his elaborate analysis of the various artifices of rime common to the episode and to Gaimar, Kupferschmidt gives, in my opinion, rather a misleading impression—doubtless quite unintentionally—of the attitude of Gaimar towards

rime. Though showing himself, on the whole, subservient to rime, he is yet, especially when an Anglo-Saxon name is involved, either content with an assonance, *e.g. ant. : anz* 1119, 20 ; *enc : ent* 5158, 60 (*cf.* in the episode *ens : enz* 179, 80) ; or else manufactures a termination of his own, *e.g. Suthsexol* 1367 *Westsexin* 1712 ; on other occasions he uses analogical forms which seem to show him catching at some new, and only partly established, forms in order to arrive at an easy rime, hence *turmente* 2191 and *vaillante* 3429 (*cf.* in the episode *parente* 593). Further, the large number of stopgap expressions which are found throughout Gaimar's work suggest rather that he was more concerned to make his couplet rime at all than that he spent much labour in devising rich and double-rich rimes and other such intricacies. Since the same attitude is apparent in the episode, though, owing to the presence of fewer intractable names, less noticeable than in the "Estoire," the conclusion which Kupferschmidt drew from his study of the 'Kunst-reime' still holds good but has not, I think, the force he attached to it.

If we now consider briefly a point which he has left undiscussed—the observance of the rule of the couplet—and compare the episode with an extract of similar length from the less annalistic part of the chronicle (vv. 3601–4400) we find the same treatment in both. Whilst the sense usually terminates with the second line and occasionally, in a sort of quatrain, with the fourth, we do find other four-line groupings—often combined with noticeable enjambement—usually divided three and one, as in the episode vv. 245–8:

Merveillad sei del avisiun
 E de la buche sun barun
 E de la flamme qu'ele vit.
 Ore entendez que li ad dit (*cf.*, too, vv. 253–6 ;
 301–4 ; 375–8)

and in Gaimar vv. 3943-6 :

En sun lit jut e la reine,
Entur els ot une cortine
Delgie[e], d'un paile escarman.
Es vus l'arce vesque Dunstan (*cf.*, too, vv. 4001-4 ;
4081-4)

or, less frequently, one and three, *e.g.* vv. 415-18 ; vv. 3681-4 ; and, very occasionally, we do meet with longer groupings, which are a tentative step in the direction of the verse paragraph, of which examples are afforded by vv. 93-8 ; vv. 4147-51.

The stylistic devices enumerated by Kupferschmidt as common to the episode and to the chronicle are deserving of more consideration than the tricks of versification he had discussed in his preceding pages, for the general impression left by a perusal of both is that these are much more the result of design than the intricacies of rime previously alluded to. One further device should figure in his list : the repetition of almost identical lines to which reference has already been made in § 1 *supra*. In the episode we have several instances, as, for example, vv. 342, 355 : Dunt il est nez e de quel gent—e de quel terre, vv. 784, 792 : Tute la char l'en hericot—lur hericad. In the "Etoire" it figures sporadically in the earlier, more literally translated, section, but is very marked in the Buern Bucecarle and other episodes where the author has a freer hand.

Since, then, all the evidence here adduced, linguistic, metrical, and stylistic, and also the additional details to be found in Kupferschmidt (*op. cit.*), afford, beyond all reasonable doubt, support in favour of the identity of the authors of the episode and of the chronicle, we are justified in concluding that Gaimar actually wrote this version¹ of the Have-

¹ This must not be understood as expressing an opinion on the interrelation of the two extant Anglo-Norman versions, though it does agree with the conclusion at which I have arrived. This matter is fully discussed in § 4 *infra*.

INTRODUCTION

loc story, and is, therefore, responsible for introducing it into his "Estoire des Engleis" after he had already begun his translation and compilation.

§ 3. THE DATE OF THE "LAI D'HAVELOC."

The fourth MS. (H.) of Gaimar, though it derives from the same tradition as D.L. and is preceded, as in the other three, by Wace's "Brut," omits the whole of the Haveloc episode, but inserts, after an intervening blank leaf at the end of the "Estoire," a copy of the second Anglo-Norman version of the story of Haveloc. The MS. is the work of a scribe, writing at the end of the fourteenth century, who brings his text up to date in point of grammar, either by substituting current for archaic forms or by making slight alterations in meaning (*cf.* v. 1991, where he replaces the plural 'uns' by 'deus'), and shows a certain independence with regard to the text in front of him. Therefore it is not improbable that the position of the "Lai" in H., and its substitution for the episode, was intentional, being an implied criticism, on the scribe's part, of Gaimar, both from the historical and the literary point of view.

Fortunately, another copy of the "Lai" has been preserved in a MS. (P.), of the end of the thirteenth or beginning of the fourteenth century, among a small and varied collection of short poems. The two MSS. are independent of each other¹ and, as P. is the earlier and, in a number of instances, demonstrably the better text, its readings, where they differ from H., must be very carefully considered.

As the printed editions of the "Lai" have been mainly

¹ For further reference to the relations of these two MSS. *cf.* § 4 *infra*.

based on H., it follows that conclusions drawn from their texts are not always substantiated when a comparison with P. is instituted. Hence it will be found that I differ in many details from Kupferschmidt in my judgements on this poem, both in the present and in subsequent sections, but that is not to say that his deductions are not—at all events those concerned with the linguistic side of the question—justified by the evidence and material at his disposal. Though independent, the two MSS. have a common source (*l.*), which cannot possibly be later in origin than the last quarter of the thirteenth century, but a cursory perusal, even of the later MS. (H.), is sufficient to show that *l.* must be considerably earlier than the date arrived at simply by the study of the MSS. The same is true, curiously enough, of at least one other of the poems contained in P., viz. “Le Donnei des Amanz.” Consequently it is essential, before attempting any discussion of the interrelation of the two versions of the Haveloc story, to determine, as accurately as possible, the date of the “Lai” (*l.*)—if not absolutely, then at least relatively to Gaimar.

Already I have committed myself to a statement as to the dialect of the “Lai,” and it will be a necessary preliminary to our investigation to set forth the grounds on which I base that claim. When we come to study the rimes we find that our task, owing to their exceptional purity, is not an easy one. There is no confusion between AN and EN; none between AIN and EIN; none between AI and EI, whether free or before single oral consonants; one case only between AI and E before consonant groups, viz. *Colecestre : mestre*, 1093, 4; of the *-alem* type of ending there is only one instance in rime, viz. *mal : estal* 43, 44, which proves nothing as to the dialect; the outcome of *-umus* is uncertain as the MSS. give forms haphazard with and without the final ‘s’ and it only occurs once in rime, and then with itself; the outcome of *-orem* is *-ur : -ur* (<Latin checked short U),

INTRODUCTION

e.g. *seignur* : *jor* 109, 10, but the monophthongual value persists quite late in C. French in this ending ; the confusion of E and IE, however, does occur (*v. infra*). That there should be so few marked dialectal traits can hardly be due to hazard ; that the author was living in England when he wrote is made probable by the contact between his work and the English local tradition and certain by a consideration of his geographical and topographical ideas of the action of the poem. Therefore the "Lai" can only be considered Anglo-Norman on the ground that it was written in England unless we can show that it is at least as early as Gaimar.

Though the linguistic evidence at our disposal for a determination of the dialect is somewhat scanty, we shall fare better in our main investigation, upon which I now enter, studying first of all the two points adduced by Kupferschmidt in support of his view that the "Lai" is younger than Gaimar, a conclusion with which I agree.

1. *Treatment of E and IE*

It is usually stated that we have these two sounds confused in rime on six occasions in the "Lai," but, as the readings of the two MSS. differ in every one of these cases, each one must be considered separately on its merits, bearing in mind the preference to be accorded to P. in deciding between two variants ; it will then be seen that the total arrived at by Kupferschmidt must be considerably reduced even when an instance omitted by him is included.¹

(a) In vv. 45, 6 I adopt the reading *guere mener* in my text, which improves the metre, and thus avoids the confusion under discussion.

(b) In vv. 237, 8 I adopt the reading *traiter*, which appears to suit the context better ; again the confusion is avoided.

¹ For fuller justification of some of the readings adopted in this section (§ 3) the textual notes to the lines in question should be consulted.

(c) In vv. 315, 6 I adopt the reading '*enveier*' from P., thus avoiding the confusion, but am not prepared absolutely to deny its possible occurrence here and in (b).

(d) In vv. 673, 4, following on the reading of P. in the preceding couplet, I read here '*disner*,' thus avoiding the confusion.

(e) In vv. 717-20, for reasons which are fully set forth in the discussion of this passage in § 7 (*infra*), I read in four successive lines what Kupferschmidt, following texts based on H. only, had treated as two couplets at twenty lines' interval; consequently his last two instances of confusion fall to the ground completely. In their place I put one other not noticed by him.

(f) In vv. 1067, 8, where the reading of H. is to be preferred, we have another example—*rengees* : *levees*. The confusion seems thus to have been known to the author of the "Lai" but is not sufficiently defined to warrant any exact conclusion as to the date at which he wrote.

2. *Confusion of -EIT and -OUT*

In the first place we note that the author most probably used the form -OT (<-abat) since he uses it in rime with the outcome of *habuit*, for which the monophthongual value is attested by *ot* : *sot* 257, 8; and, secondly, that he did not substitute -EIT for it, as a re-examination of Kupferschmidt's examples will show :

(a) In vv. 137, 8 I adopt the reading '*sot*' in my text, which improves the metre, and thus avoid the confusion of endings.

(b) In vv. 249, 50 I adopt the reading '*serveit*,' which undoubtedly suits the context better, and again avoid the confusion.

(c) In vv. 977, 8, though neither MS. gives an absolutely satisfactory reading, the one adopted in my text, based on P., appears to suit the context better and, as new rime words are

introduced, the question of the confusion of these endings does not arise.

3. *Treatment of L and R*

There is no proof that L is vocalised and none to the contrary ; there is no confusion between L and R and only once between L and L', viz. *gopil* : *vil* 469, 70 ; nor are there any imperfect rimes in R (e.g. *este* : *estre* or *us* : *urs*) such as are common in Gaimar and other Anglo-Norman writers.

4. *Treatment of S and Z*

The distinction is absolute. There is only proof of the mutation of S before T ; the one instance is *rendist* : *Achebrit* 1007, 8.

5. *Treatment of T and D*

There is no trace of the intervocalic dentals surviving, but the study of the final dentals gives useful results, which may be summarised as under :—

(a) in substantival and verbal roots ; entirely lost as in Gaimar.

(b) in substantival and participial endings :

α. *atum*, etc., rime only with themselves, as in Gaimar [where also occasionally with English proper names in *-ed*, e.g. *Elfred* : *apeled* (3023, 4)].

β. *itum* rimes only with itself, as in Gaimar.

γ. *utum*, etc., rime only with themselves, except in *venu* : *tu* 593, 4, as in Gaimar [with a similar exception in *avenu* : *Belzebu* (4483, 4)].

(c) in weak preterites (*-ivit*) ; loss proved by *di* : *fini* 357, 8, *li* (f. dat.) : *dormi* 387, 8, *ami* : *endormi* 399, 400, *li* (f. dat.) : *norri* 493, 4, *di* : *respundi* 807, 8, *enemi* : *crei* 1061, 2 ; in Gaimar only with itself [or with English proper names, usually those ending in a dental, except in vv. 1357, 1689, 5062].

(d) in preterites (*-avit*) and futures (*-abet*) ; these endings rime as a rule with themselves as in Gaimar (almost the only

available rime-words being *ja* and *la*, which are found here as in Gaimar).

(e) in presents ; lost entirely here but still traceable in Gaimar.

(f) in 'fixed' finals ; retained, but there are no rimes with the 'unfixed' as occasionally in Gaimar.

6. *Treatment of atonic vowels*

(a) pretonic in hiatus ; though often omitted in one or in both of the MSS., the metre shows that they are invariably retained by the author.

(b) parasitic interconsonantal ; though the MSS. almost invariably insert an *e* in the group VR, the metre shows that the addition is entirely graphic, having no syllabic value ; one special case deserves mention here, *viz.* 'haveⁿe' (*passim*), which, though spelt thus in the MSS., is, as shown by the scansion, usually dissyllabic, but there is no conclusive evidence in the "Lai" to enable us to decide whether the author read *hav(e)ne* or *haven(e)*, for in v. 105, where it is apparently trisyllabic, its value is not absolutely certain in view of the differing MS. readings.

(c) post-tonic after vowels ; there are apparently two cases of omission, both uncertain : v. 37 'Quant ot Arthur finie la guere,' which is the best supported, as the author adheres very strictly to the agreement of the participle with 'avoir' — though even here a simple emendation would restore the correct metre ; v. 1058 'È a sa navie returnez,' ; in which the omission of the initial *E* would correct the metre, though at the expense of strict syntactical balance.

7. *Agreement of past participles with 'Avoir'*

This is vigorously carried out both with a preceding object, *e.g.* vv. 58, 660, and with a succeeding, *e.g.* vv. 376, 477 ; there is apparently only one case of non-agreement, *viz.* v. 1018, which appears to be due to the rime.

8. *Confusion of cases*

On the whole the two-case declension is well maintained ; it is only in nouns with shifting accent that there is any tendency to replace the subject by the object forms ; and the agreement of the past participle with 'Être' shows only one instance of case confusion, viz. v. 352.

9. *Analogical feminines of adjectives*

These are absolutely unknown to the author with the one exception of the old-established *dolente* (: *parente*) 629, 30, which hardly comes under this heading.

Such is the linguistic material at our disposal for determining the date of the "Lai." The treatment of the final dentals shows a later stage than Gaimar, which points to the second half of the twelfth century, and the mutation of S and, sporadically, of post-tonic E after a vowel suggest that we should date our poem as belonging to the last decade of that, or the first decades of the following, century, say c. 1190-1220. This conclusion is reinforced by the following considerations, and by a study of the peculiar nature of the local allusions in the "Lai," which I shall treat at the greater length demanded by their importance and relevance to the question under discussion.

The rule of the couplet is much less strictly adhered to in the "Lai" than in Gaimar, and consequently the verse as a whole seems much freer ; similarly, the lines with marked iambic rhythm, which are such a noticeable feature of the "Estoire," scarcely attract attention. These are both changes resulting from the transition from public declamation to private reading and are contemporary with the flourishing of the 'Breton' romances in the latter half of the twelfth century.

From the same period dates the vogue of the delicate little tales of love, usually with a 'Celtic' background, the earliest examples of which are associated with Marie de France. With the increasing coarseness of the 'fableau,' the minstrels

looked round for a new name for the more decent and artistic poems in this class; the word 'lai' had gradually lost its primary significance, and so was ready to their hand; hence in the later 'lais' the comic element is not altogether absent.¹ Such a stage is represented by our poem, but this is, of course, only a very general indication, taken by itself, of the date.

There is, however, not only a general connection with the 'lais' but also a special one with those of Marie,² since in the prominence assigned to Argentille the author of the "Lai d'Haveloc" seems to have been influenced by the poetess' tale of "Les dous amanz." At any rate there is an interesting parallel between vv. 1031-34 of our poem:

Dedenz le jor k'il orent pris
Edelsi manda ses amis
E tuz icels k'il pot avoir;
N'en i laissa nul remaneir.

and vv. 165-8 of "Les dous amanz":

Terme li a nume e mis. [MS. H. 'pris.']
Ses humes mande e ses amis
E tuz cels qu'il poeit avoir; [MS. S. 'que il pot.']
N'en i laissa nul remaneir.

The local allusions in the poem are extremely definite, but this cannot be said to be the case with its general geography. Thus Edelsi's kingdom is delimited in detail in vv. 198-201 but his rival's is only vaguely indicated as 'Le realme vers les Sureis' (v. 203), and this seems more in keeping with the loose notion of the situation of the kingdoms and the scene of the action apparent in Grim's instruction to Haveloc: 'Va t'en bel fiz, en Engleterre' (v. 175). Much more interesting are the allusions to Grimsby, especially when compared with those in Gaimar and in the English "Havelok," and so emphatic is their nature that it is difficult to avoid the suspicion that they are not entirely meaningless.

¹ cf. the introduction to "Le vair palefroi" (*Class. franc. du m. age*), where this development is discussed at greater length by Långfors.

² For a fuller discussion of this point cf. § 4 *infra*.

INTRODUCTION

In Gaimar we are nowhere definitely told where Grim landed, but, since Haveloc left his family at Grimsby (*cf.* vv. 305-6), we infer that was the place; neither have we any reference to its being called after him. In "Havelok" we are definitely told (vv. 733-48) that Grim landed in the north of Lindsey and that Grimsby is named after him. Further, we gather from Gaimar (vv. 457-8) that the locality, though not the actual landing-place, was already inhabited and this tallies with the indications in "Havelok" (*loc. cit.* and vv. 763ff). In the "Lai" we find the fact that the landing-place was previously uninhabited and derived its name from Grim insisted on in the accounts in vv. 125-44 and in vv. 787-796, and note especially the reference in v. 794 to Grimsby as 'vile e marché.' This intermediate position of the "Lai" is to be noted in two other particulars. The landing place of Haveloc, on his campaign to recover his wife's kingdom, is left unspecified in Gaimar and is given as Grimsby in "Havelok" (v. 2540), but is stated in the "Lai" to be 'Carleflod,' which was a seaport in the vicinity of the present Saltfleet and disappeared apparently about the middle of the thirteenth century.¹ The scene of the battle

¹ v. 1002. It was still a seaport in 1209, as is shown by a reference to it as 'Carrefled' in Abb. Plac. of 10 John (p. 64). A passage in Thomas of Monmouth's life of St. William of Norwich is not without interest here. In Book vii., cap. xvii. (p. 278, ed. Jessopp and James), he relates two instances of the saint affording protection at sea, the first of which alone concerns us. A ship is in sore straits; a priest, 'qui cum eis de Norweia advenerat,' advises the sailors to call on St. William, which they do. After grounding on a sandbank the vessel is deserted by the crew, but, being still intact on the following day, they rejoin it, set sail, and 'estu quoque favente et aura, portui qui Charlefluot dicitur cursu prospero invehuntur.' There can be little doubt but the same place is referred to here as in the "Lai," and the tenour of the story suggests a regular intercourse between Scandinavia and Lincolnshire in the later twelfth century, the period contemporary with the life.

between Haveloc and Edelsi is likewise left indefinite in Gaimar, is given as Grimsby in "Havelok" (v. 2619), but is said to be at 'Tefort' in the "Lai." It would appear then that, at the time our poem was written, the story was not yet completely crystallised round Grimsby, and in the prominence assigned to that port¹ we have probably an echo of the rivalries between the various Lincolnshire ports which accompanied the revival of trade with Scandinavia that reached its height in the first quarter of the thirteenth century. Unfortunately, there is no early charter extant recording the grant of a market to Grimsby, but the incorporation dates back to 1201; it would be, perhaps, not altogether fanciful to connect the "Lai" with that event, to regard it in fact as, to some extent, a very early example of civic propaganda.

As we have seen, the dialect of the poem is not very different from the French of the continent and suggests an immigrant into, rather than a native of, England; the disparity between the vague general conception of the scene of action and the extremely definite local allusions suggests that the author had only recently, towards the end of the twelfth century, arrived in Lincolnshire and knew very little of the rest of the country; the advice given to Edelsi by his counsellors in vv. 316-8:

Or fetes la loinz enveier
En Bretagne dela la mer
E a vos parenz comander

would appear to show that Brittany was more familiar than

¹ These allusions (*v. supra*) are to be attributed to the author of the "Lai," and were not in his source, for the story of the flight from Denmark is here related on three occasions: (a) in the induction in Denmark, vv. 89 ff., which occurs only in the "Lai"; (b) at the reunion of Haveloc and his foster-sister Kelloc, vv. 601 ff.; (c) in the interview with Sigar in Denmark, vv. 777 ff.; but the prominence assigned to Grimsby is absent from the second passage.

Britain to the author as the home of 'les Brez' (*cf.* v. 202), but the supposition to which, at first sight, this gives rise, that the writer came from some place on the Breton-Norman frontier, is hardly supported by the other evidence available. We have, however, been able to determine the date of the "Lai" with sufficient accuracy to allow of our attacking the still more important question of the relationship subsisting between Gaimar's Haveloc episode and the later "Lai d'Haveloc."

§ 4. THE "LAI" AND GAIMAR

In considering the date of the "Lai," I indicated briefly the relationship of the two MSS. of that poem; but, as this has considerable relevance to the problem which now confronts us, it will be advisable to adduce one or two instances in support of the assertions already made, postponing a full discussion of this point until later. Since P. is older than H., it will be sufficient, in order to establish their independence, to show that H. has not copied P. In vv. 412-4 P., in the account of Argenteuil's dream, reads:

Un des senglers par grant vertuz
Vers lui ala si len wai
Mes cuaran locist le venqui;

the name being introduced in order to explain the '*lui*' of the preceding line, which, as the full context shows, is a mistake for '*lurs*,' the actual reading of H. In vv. 85-6 P. reads:

Ke lur chastel sur eus preisseit
E le fiiz le rei esteit

and H.

Que le chastel sus eus preist
Et le fiz le rei oceist;

which is hardly likely to be a correction by the scribe, because to him the second line of the couplet would, apparently, be metrically satisfactory and because the obvious alteration would be to put 'U' instead of 'E.'

As Kupferschmidt noted, there are a large number of passages in the "Lai" and in Gaimar's Haveloc episode which are parallel in expression. Whatever their explanation, if there is, in one of such passages, a divergence in the MSS. readings of the "Lai," that which is nearest to Gaimar must be considered correct, unless it be possible to show that one or other of the two scribes has consulted Gaimar independently.

In v. 409, again in the description of Argentille's dream, P. reads (=G. 198) *Porz e senglers quil defenderent* H., on the contrary, *Chiens e senglers qui le defendoient* where there is no very obvious reason for the change ; in v. 459

P. reads (=G. 265) *Dame fet il ne dotez ren*
and H. *Bele fet il ne dotez ren,*

apparently repeating the commencement of v. 448 ; in v. 1093, describing Argentille's inheritance,

P. reads (=G. 803) *De Hoillant tresque a Colesestre*
and H. *De Holande desquen Gloucestre,*

thus contradicting his own previous delimitation where he is in complete agreement with P. These instances would seem to point to a definite consultation of Gaimar by P., but it is hardly credible that the scribe should turn to correct a mistake at v. 409 and then make one in another parallel passage at v. 413, as we have just seen he did, and this doubt is strengthened by a consideration of v. 388, where H. reads (=G. 178) : *As denz se geut si se dormi* and P. *En peis se jut e si dormi,*

which is shown to be wrong by the contrast, undoubtedly intentional, with vv. 396-8 :

Tel joie en ot e tant l'ama
K'il s'endormi e oblia
Envers se jut ne se garda ;

INTRODUCTION

here again, since the mistake occurs in a parallel passage, we should not expect P. to go astray had he consulted Gaimar independently.

Such being the case, the lines which are found only in P. must receive serious consideration, as the probability is in favour of their being by the author of the "Lai," especially if the following facts are kept in view : in every case, some half-dozen in all, the first impression is that the lines in question have been omitted by H., not that they have been added by P. ; in no case does there appear any noticeable difference in style, though, in spite of the shortness of the passages involved—usually only a single couplet—on both sides, that impression is given by at least two passages found only in H., viz. vv. 331–6 and that rejected after v. 614 ; in nearly every case the inclusion of the P. passages in the final text can be justified on contextual or similar grounds ; and in some of these cases their inclusion is supported by the readings of Gaimar, which, as we have seen, there is no reason for supposing was known to the scribe of the Phillipps MS.

In addition to the apparent contact between the MSS. of the "Lai" and Gaimar's Haveloc episode, of which instances have been given above, there are also a smaller number of cases where there would seem to be contact between the "Lai" and the MSS. of Gaimar, and these must now be considered. In v. 200 the "Lai," in describing the bounds of Edelsi's kingdom, includes '*Rotelande e Estanfort*' ; in the parallel account in Gaimar, at v. 49, R. reads, correctly, '*Roteland*' against D.L. '*en orient*' ; in v. 403 the "Lai," in the description of Argentille's dream, reads '*Ultre la mer en un boscage*' where in Gaimar, at v. 195, we have R. reading, correctly, '*entre la mer e un boscage*' but D.L. '*entre la veie e un boscage*' ; in vv. 437, 8 the "Lai" reads '*Par tut le bois ot si grant cri K'Argentille s'en esperi,*' agreeing with the

parallel passage in Gaimar at vv. 235, 6 where R. reads, incorrectly, 'sen eveilli' and D.L. 'sen esperid.'

So far we have met with nothing that is not explicable by the current theory, advanced by Kupferschmidt, of an earlier Haveloc in French verse from which both Gaimar's episode and the "Lai" are independently derived, but the next instance puts rather a strain on this assumption. In v. 1078 of the "Lai," which is the parallel to Gaimar v. 794, we have divergent readings in the MSS. of both texts. Both metre and context show conclusively that the passage as conceived by the author, whoever he may have been, ran : . . . encuntre un hum qu'il aveient

(Lai 1078=G. 794) Del altre part *set en vecient* and it is in the second half of the latter line that the misreadings occur. In the "Lai" the words in question read in P. *set en veient* and in H. *set en estoient*. Since, as we have seen, the two MSS. are independent and there is no obvious reason why P. should correct a reading 'esteient' in his 'Vorlage,' and since the reverse procedure on the part of H. is explicable by the, to him, apparent obscurity of a reading 'en veient,' we must conclude that P. preserves the reading of the "Lai" (*l.*), possibly without mistake, for elsewhere in both MSS. the pretonic 'e' is maintained in the forms of 'vecir.' In Gaimar the words read in R. 'set en vaient' and in D.L. 'set en aveient'—where the last word has received the prefix from the line above, so that the mistake was presumably in their 'Vorlage.' Thus we have the "Lai" and R. once more in agreement, and unless we suppose that G. and 'l.' at different times, both misread this line in the same way, it would almost appear that the line was already faulty in the common source of Kupferschmidt's theory.

On the whole these instances of agreement would seem to point to this hypothetical source (K.) having been better preserved by the R. tradition in Gaimar, and such a conclusion is in no way contradicted by the diversity in form

INTRODUCTION

of the name of Argentille's father. In R. the spelling is usually *Adelbrit*, which, since in v. 89 the metre demands the shortened form *Albrit*, must be taken as representing the form used by Gaimar; in the Lambeth Interpolation, which is said by Putnam to be independent of Gaimar though derived from K., the form is *Egelbright*, which points to an earlier 'Aedel' name; in the English version the name is *Athelwold*, which again points to an 'Aedel' name as that originally borne by the heroine's father. Consequently we should expect a form *Adelbrit* in 'I' but find instead *Achebrit* (*Echebrit*) in P.—the form in H. is later (*Ekenbright*)—and this, which appears to be that used by 'I,' corresponds closely to that employed in MSS. D. and L. of Gaimar. Nor is this the only instance of agreement in names of personages which seems hardly explicable on the current theory. As noted by Skeat (*op. cit.* Intro. § 21), Gaimar says at v. 103 'Cil Cuaran esteit quistrun' and 'the author of the other French version (= "Lai") somewhat mistakes the matter, imagining that *Cuaran* had the meaning of scullion' (*cf.* vv. 260-2 :

Cuaran l'apelloent tuit
Kar co teneient li Bretun
En lur langage pur quistrun).

Again, if we compare the name of the Danish lord in the "Lai" and in Gaimar, we find that the former invariably gives it as *Sigar Estal*—a form assured by the rime—when using the full name, whereas Gaimar, on the one occasion on which he does the same (v. 504), has '*Sigar Estalre* aveit a nun,' undoubtedly preserving the correct form, which is the Anglo-Saxon 'Steallere'; by a writer unacquainted with English the line could easily be read, by faulty division, '*Sigar Estal* raveit a nun,' thus leaving the name in the form adopted by the "Lai" and suggesting that this form arose in some such way.

Enough has now been said to warrant a renewed inquiry

into the relationship between the "Lai" and Gaimar. Though not the keystone of his theory, it is clear, from the course of his investigation, that Kupferschmidt was led to postulate the existence of an earlier French Haveloc, from which the two extant versions are derived, by the number of striking parallels in expression between the two. Our first step will be to re-examine them and see whether they will bear the interpretation he put on them. A very hasty comparison shows that the position is somewhat more complicated than he seems to have imagined; even the passages adduced by him—some fifteen in all—are not of equal value. Thus

(i.) Gaimar v. 249 *Sire, fait ele, vus ardez*

and Lai v. 445 *Sire, fet ele, vus ardez*

offer a verbal parallel much stricter than

(ii.) Gaimar v. 184 *Cum hum deit faire sa muillier*

and Lai v. 394 *Cum od s'espuse fere dut*

where the disparity is increased when the two lines are considered in their respective contexts. Those passages in the two poems which, though not always in absolute literal agreement, yet show no appreciable change of intention and so may be reckoned of the first type (i.), include more than, but not all of, those quoted by Kupferschmidt.¹ The

¹ Even in this group there are changes which appear deliberate, e.g. where the proper name is introduced at Lai 419 or Lai 438, and one or two should possibly be included rather under (ii.). For convenience of reference I give here a list of the corresponding passages which I consider belong to type (i.): G. 178—Lai 388; G. 195—Lai 403; G. 205—Lai 411; G. 217—Lai 418; G. 219-22—Lai 419-22; G. 235-6—Lai 437-8; G. 249—Lai 445; G. 253—Lai 447; G. 281—Lai 471; G. 288—Lai 477; G. 305-6—Lai 543-4; G. 374—Lai 594; G. 462—Lai 634; G. 577—Lai 775; G. 581—Lai 783; G. 585-6—Lai 785-6; G. 605-8—Lai 804-5; G. 731—Lai 922; G. 769—Lai 1054; G. 775—Lai 1063; G. 777—Lai 1065; G. 779

INTRODUCTION

other type (ii.) comprises a relatively larger number and is wider in scope as it includes not only such a partial parallel as that already quoted, but also passages such as

Gaimar v. 564 Tut l'asalt dunc ad fait cesser
and Lai v. 747 Il ad fet remaneir l'asalt
which might be more fittingly described as echoes.¹

Close study of these corresponding passages reveals two things. Probably the majority of the instances of type (ii.a) give the impression that the "Lai" version represents a greater divergence from the original than does Gaimar's; sometimes a reason arising out of necessities of construction may be surmised, but more often there is no apparent motive for the change. In the induction to the "Lai," which, as it is found neither in Gaimar nor in the English version, is not part of the original story, the author gives, before the main

—Lai 1067; G. 792—Lai 1074; G. 793—4—Lai 1077—8;
G. 797—8—Lai 1083—4; G. 799—800—Lai 1085—6; G. 803—
Lai 1093; G. 809—10—Lai 1101—2.

¹ This distinction cannot in the nature of things be a rigid one, but for convenience I append a list of passages included by me in type (ii.) :

(a) partial parallels. G. 437—8—Lai 117—8; G. 50—1—Lai 198, 200; G. 184—Lai 394; G. 196—Lai 404; G. 232—Lai 431; G. 233—4—Lai 433—4; G. 265—6—Lai 459—60; G. 268—Lai 463; G. 279—Lai 469; G. 284—Lai 475; G. 309—Lai 547; G. 365—Lai 592; G. 504—Lai 627; G. 558, 61—Lai 742—3, 5; G. 804—Lai 1095; G. 805—6—Lai 1097; G. 807—8—Lai 1099—1100; G. 815—6—Lai 1107—8.

(b) echoes. G. 431—Lai 120; G. 54—Lai 208; G. 119—Lai 255; G. 198—Lai 409; G. 254—6—Lai 448—50; G. 361—2—Lai 541—2; G. 363—4—Lai 544; G. 367—8—Lai 545—6; G. 401—Lai 601; G. 503—Lai 625; G. 503, 5—Lai 665; G. 551—Lai 712; G. 564—Lai 747; G. 583—4—Lai 784; G. 594—5—Lai 800—1; G. 620—1—Lai 814—5; G. 632—4—Lai 833—6; G. 650—1—Lai 850—1.

action begins, an account of the flight from Denmark wherein these two lines figure :

'La nef unt robe e malmise E la reine i fu oscise' (117-8). Though the section as a whole has no equivalent in Gaimar, yet in the account there given by Haveloc's foster-sister—which appears in its proper place, minus the parallel passage, in the "Lai"—we have : 'Kar tute fud fraite e malmise Quant la reine fud ocise' (437-8) and in Lai v. 120 : 'Fors Grim ki ert lur conuissant' there is apparently an echo of Gaimar v. 431 : 'Mis pere esteit lur cunuissant' ; which is itself paralleled¹ more closely in the "Estoire" proper at v. 4891 : 'Walgar esteit lur cunuissant.' Nor is this the only instance in which lines, appearing consecutively in the "Lai," have parallels in quite different

¹ This is the more noteworthy as two, at least, of the passages quoted by Kupferschmidt to illustrate Gaimar's use of similarity of expression in cases of similarity of thought are echoed by the "Lai." Cf. Gaimar vv. 503-4 : Iloc maneit uns riches hum Sigar Estalre aveit a nun ;

Gaimar vv. 2597-8 : Iloc maneit uns gentilz hum, Buern Bucecarle aveit a nun ;

and Lai vv. 625 and 665 : Un riche hom i ad en la terre . . . La ou li seneschals maneit ;

and, more striking still,

Gaimar vv. 493-4 : Tant unt nagied e governed Qu'en Danemarche sunt arived ;

Gaimar vv. 5841-2 : Tant unt nagied e governed Qu'a Barbefluet sunt arived ;

and Lai vv. 1001-2 : Tant unt nage e tant sigle K'a Carlefod sunt arive ;

of which the first line is also found at Lai 124 and again at Gaimar v. 5209 in similar contexts. As the correspondence of form in this second example is as much with Gaimar's "Estoire" as with his Haveloc version I have not included it in the lists given above.

INTRODUCTION

contexts in Gaimar, as the following passage shows very clearly :

<i>Lai</i>	<i>Gaimar</i>
(Argentille asks Haveloc)	(Haveloc meets his foster sister and her husband, who ask him)
541 . . . dunt il ert nez E ou esteit sis parentez. (Haveloc replies)	361. . . . 'dunt es tu nez ? En quel lieu est tis parentez?' (Haveloc's reply to Argentille)
543. Dame, fet il, a Grimes- bi, La les laissai quant jo vinc ci.	305. Dame, fait il, a Grimes- bi, D'iloc turnai quant o vinc ci. (Haveloc's reply to his foster sister)
545. Grim li peschere il est mis pere, Seburc, co qui, ad nun ma mere.	363. . . . ici laissai Mun parente quant m'en turnai. 367. Grim fud mis pere un pescheur, Ma mere ot nun Sebruc s'uxor.

Moreover, it is not perhaps without importance that the passages listed under types (i.) and (ii.) are unevenly distributed over the text of Gaimar ; if we take the conclusion of the story—the means by which Haveloc secures his final victory and its results—we find it related in Gaimar in 42 lines (vv. 775–816) and in the “Lai” in 46 lines (vv. 1063–1108), of which 19 are parallels ; if we take the account of Argentille's dream and the resulting conversation we find it recorded in Gaimar in 144 lines (vv. 173–316) and in the “Lai”—omitting her visit to the hermit, which is not common to the two texts—in 122 lines (vv. 385–488 and vv. 539–56), of which 31 are parallels. Thus more than half of the corresponding passages occur in just two sections

of the story—comprising less than one quarter even of the shorter text—and those two the very ones in which both the Anglo-Norman versions, though themselves in close agreement, differ most noticeably from the English one. So, though we have, as yet, discovered nothing from our study of the parallel passages incompatible with the existence of K., yet there is already, I think, sufficient evidence to suggest that the possibility of their being otherwise explicable must not only not be lost sight of, but, on the contrary, must be taken into serious consideration.

Their presence can only be regarded as confirmatory of the existence of K. if it be shown that Gaimar and the "Lai" are otherwise independent, and this Kupferschmidt seeks to prove by the following argument. The two Anglo-Norman versions on the one hand and the English "Havelok" on the other, whilst preserving the same story in outline, differ so much in detail that they are manifestly independent; therefore any incident which occurs in either or both of the Anglo-Norman versions and in the English must be regarded as having formed part of the original story; if then the "Lai" contains original features which do not figure in Gaimar, or if it omits original features which do figure in Gaimar, it is independent of the latter. He then enumerates four instances which in his opinion fulfil these conditions: (1) Gaimar describes Haveloc's coronation feast as does the English but not the "Lai." (2) In Gaimar as in the English the scene opens in England, whereas in the "Lai" it is in Denmark that the action commences. (3) The "Lai" explains how Haveloc came to be at Edelsi's court as does the English, though differently, but not Gaimar. (4) The "Lai" relates Edelsi's promise to marry Argentille to the strongest man in the kingdom and the way in which he keeps it to the letter in order to secure her inheritance for himself. This same motive appears in the English, but not in Gaimar. He concludes (p. 430), 'daraus folgt nun weiter, dass schon,

INTRODUCTION

bevor Gaimar seine Chronik schrieb, also vor 1150, eine Romanze von Haveloc in achtsilbigen Reimpaaren bestanden haben muss.' But do his facts warrant this conclusion?

The following considerations of detail will, I think, show that such is not necessarily the case :—

(1) Since this involves an omission by the "Lai" it proves nothing in respect of its independence of Gaimar. Moreover, since the only mention by Gaimar is in the general terms of vv. 755-6 : 'Grant feste tint a grant baldoire Si cum nus dit la veire estoire,' and the same rime occurs in a somewhat similar context at vv. 3939-40 : 'Mes tant vus di cum dit l'estoire, Richesce i ot e grant baldoire' — whereas in the English version we have a much fuller description (vv. 2320-45)—it seems doubtful whether the agreement in this case is more than a fortuitous one arising out of Gaimar's sense of fitness.

(2) The change by which in the "Lai" the opening scene is laid in Denmark instead of in England as in the other two versions is due to the fact that the author is writing under the influence, as we shall see later, of the "Lais" of Marie de France, and so, in conformity with the technique of many of them, gives at the outset full information about his hero. Hence, although the "Lai" diverges in this particular from the original form of the story, this cannot be held to prove its independence of Gaimar.

(3) In view of the change of opening made by the "Lai" some explanation of Haveloc's presence at the court of Edelsi becomes essential, but the transition to the account of that monarch is a little awkward and there are, as we shall see, inconsistencies in this section which make it likely that the explanation is due entirely to the author of the "Lai." Further, though the English "Havelok" gives an account of the hero's departure from Grimsby, the treatment is so different and at the same time so consistent, that it is inconceivable that it and the "Lai" should go back to a common

source in this particular. Once more then we have no absolute proof of the "Lai's" independence.

(4) Undoubtedly this is the most convincing instance adduced by Kupferschmidt in support of his contention, but even here I doubt whether he is correct in his assumptions. This 'strongest man' motive undoubtedly plays a prominent part both in the "Lai" and in the English "Havelok" and as far as they are concerned probably goes back to a common source, but that it was known to Gaimar I very much doubt. Firstly, it is to be noted that though he refers to Havelok's prowess in wrestling and fighting (*cf.* vv. 109 ff.) and so shows himself acquainted with his hero's strength, yet he does not regard it as out of the ordinary and does not emphasise it as he does later for another of his heroes, Hereward. Secondly, Edelsi marries Argentille to Havelok in order to shame her and to make his hold on her inheritance more secure, but there is not the slightest suggestion that the marriage was in any way due to a promise previously made by him. Thirdly, if this motive figured in K., then Gaimar must have excised very carefully all reference to the oath and its sequel but yet kept the mention of his hero's strength, a procedure which it is exceedingly difficult to imagine him adopting, in view of his strong predilection for striking and picturesque incident. Fourthly, the Lambeth Interpolation, which is, according to Putnam, independent of Gaimar, though undoubtedly drastically condensed, yet seems to support Gaimar rather than the "Lai" (*cf.* vv. 40-45 of the English). Fifthly, when we remember the political situation in the mid-twelfth century after the loss of the heir to the throne in 1120—how Henry I. called his nobles together and induced them to swear to acknowledge and support his daughter, and how after his death that oath was broken by Stephen—it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the emphasis on the steps taken to ensure Argentille's succession is a reflection of the historical circum-

INTRODUCTION

stances which were at that time unique in English history, and that consequently the development of the 'strongest-man' motive in the Haveloc story is later than the reign of Stephen—in which case it could not have been known to Gaimar, who had already completed his "Estoire." On these grounds, then, it is again impossible to assert that we have definite proof of the independence of the "Lai."

There remains yet another divergence between Gaimar and the "Lai," which, though it bears on this question, has been left undiscussed by Kupferschmidt. On two occasions, according to the Anglo-Norman versions, Haveloc obtains an axe wherewith to defend himself, but, though the order of the incidents is the same in both, yet the actual manner in which the weapon is secured differs in a peculiar way. In Gaimar the sequence of events is entirely logical. An attempt to abduct Argentille is made in the course of which Haveloc, catching sight of an axe hanging in his lodging, seizes it, follows his assailants into the street, and defeats them; next comes the siege in the church tower, the truce with and recognition by Sigar, and the presentation of Haveloc to the assembly in the former's hall; Haveloc, surrounded by a guard, mistakes their motives and attempts to snatch an axe from one of those standing by, whereupon he is immediately reassured by Sigar. In the "Lai," though the two incidents are the same, the actual circumstances under which Haveloc obtains the axe are reversed at some sacrifice of logic. In the abduction scene, the whole of which occurs in the street, Haveloc seizes an axe from one of the attacking party and puts them to flight, though, to judge by vv. 698-9: '*Ne sai par cumfete aventure Un de cels la tint e porta,*' the author is not quite sure of his ground; in the assembly in Sigar's hall Haveloc, fearful of an attack on his life, sees an axe hanging from a hook, passes through the crowd undisturbed, takes it down—still undisturbed—and then quietly hands it over to Sigar,

who apparently watches him do all this, and then reassures him in the same sudden and vehement manner as in Gaimar, which is, to say the least, inconsistent. As both incidents are related by Gaimar and by the "Lai," they must according to current theory have been present in K., and it is evident from the above that the probability is in favour of the change having been made by the "Lai." This becomes a certainty when we note that Gaimar and the English "Havelok" are in agreement in making the attempted abduction begin with an attack on Haveloc's lodging. The author of the "Lai" had thus at his disposal the two methods of obtaining the axe; since in his account the abduction scene takes place entirely in the street, Haveloc cannot find an axe to hand except by taking it from one of his assailants, and therefore, on the second occasion, the author has to make as good use as possible of the axe hanging on the wall. The whole alteration is thus due to the difference in the scene of the abduction, which is, I think, explicable in the following manner:

Between vv. 530 and 531 of Gaimar there is in the Royal MS. a blank space equal to six lines, which, though there is no such indication in the other two MSS., seems to correspond to a lacuna in the text in which would be related how Haveloc and Argentille proceeded to their quarters. Immediately afterwards we are told that Haveloc, after the first surprise of the attack, seeing his assailants going off with his wife—

Prent une hache mult trenchant
 Qu'en la maisun trovad pendant,
 Cels ad ataint *en la ruele*
 Qui menoent dame Argentele (vv. 536-40).

Unless read very attentively this passage would give the impression that the whole affair took place, as the "Lai" says it does, *en une rue* (v. 693), and I suggest that it was due to a misunderstanding of this very passage that the alteration

INTRODUCTION

of scene was made by the author of the "Lai." In the first place, even if there is a lacuna in Gaimar at v. 530, which, if not improbable, is by no means certain, we cannot suppose that there would be one in K., and therefore there cannot have been such opportunity for a misunderstanding to arise. Secondly, the occurrence of the rime *bele-Argentele* at vv. 529-30 and of *ruele-Argentele* at vv. 539-40 together with the addition of 'dame' to the lady's name—unknown in the "Lai" but paralleled in Gaimar by the use of 'danz' in vv. 481, 536, 553, 555—suggest that the phraseology of the passage as it stands is Gaimar's own. Thirdly, the epithet 'trenchant' of Gaimar v. 537, again in rime, appears to be echoed by the 'trenchant e dure' of "Lai" v. 697.

It will be seen that I have now suggested the possibility of the "Lai" being, not independent of Gaimar as hitherto supposed, but actually dependent on him, and the following considerations will advance that assumption still further in the direction of extreme probability, if not to absolute certainty. Up to the point in the story where Havelok is recognised as the rightful heir to the Danish throne the Anglo-Norman and the English versions are in substantial agreement; thenceforward they diverge so much that no comparison between them is possible; even in this first part, however, there are four important differences. If it can be shown that they are due to Gaimar, then, as they also occur in the "Lai," it will follow that the latter must be indebted to the former for these details. That such is the case I shall now attempt to show by a consideration of the following points:

(1) In the English "Havelok" we read concerning Grim's flight from Denmark that he prepared his ship, took on board his wife and family and Havelok, and—

drou him to the heye se,
there he miht alther-beste fle.
Fro londe woren he bote a mile,

Ne were it nevere but ane hwile,
that it ne gan a wind to rise
Out of the north, men calleth 'bise,'
And drof hem intil Engelond (vv. 719-25).

In Gaimar, Grim and his party set out with the intention of reaching England (*cf.* vv. 423, 579), but are attacked 'en halte mer' by 'uthlages' (*cf.* vv. 425, 581), who spare Grim and his family, including Haveloc, on the score of old acquaintance (*cf.* vv. 431 ff.). If we turn to Thomas of Monmouth's *Life of St. William of Norwich* we read (Book vi., cap. xiii., p. 246, ed. Jessopp and James): "*Igitur mulier erat de Brandeneia Wimarce nomine que regis Stephani temporibus quando dies mali fuerant, p. o viro suo a predonibus comprehenso apud Geinnesburc data est obses.*" Without accepting the editor's suggested identification of 'Brandeneia' with Bardney, which was undoubtedly known to Gaimar from its connection with St. Oswald, it is clear, from subsequent allusions in his "*Estoire*," that such a state of affairs was well known to him. In his account of Buern Bucecarle we learn that 'li prodrom ert dunc a la mer, Pur uthlages la sot garder' (vv. 2613-4); in his misrepresentation of the events of A.D. 779, which results in a description of a fictitious battle at Portsmouth (vv. 2023-30), the assailants are to him pirates: 'Uthlages erent pur co le firent'; later, when describing the assassination of Æthelwold, he says:

Ore s'en vait danz Edelwold.
En cel aler que la alot
Ne sai quels genz i encuntrot,
Uthlages sunt e enemis (vv. 3851-5);

finally, when he comes to the story of Hereward, he tells us that the Englishman and his companions 'uthlages sunt Willame al reis' (v. 5466). There is, however, a slight discrepancy between Gaimar's two accounts of the flight; in the first, as stated already, Kelloc explains to Haveloc

INTRODUCTION

how they were saved (vv. 431 ff.) ; in the second, where Haveloc relates the adventure to Sigar, he says : ' Jo gari, ne sai en quel guise, E li prodom en eschapid, Qui me nurrid e mult m'amad ' (vv. 584-6). Nevertheless it is, I think, quite evident that Gaimar had formed a clear conception, based on his knowledge of contemporary happenings, of the events connected with the flight, and it is reasonable to suppose that the account in Gaimar is substantially his own, whether it be an expansion of a hint in his source or a substitution for the storm explanation preserved in the English "Havelok." Therefore, since the "Lai" follows his version, even in phraseology (*cf.* list of parallel passages given above), and has the same slight discrepancy, though not so pronounced, between two of the accounts of the flight—for owing to the rearrangement of the opening scene this is thrice described—in the matter of Grim's acquaintance with the 'uthlages' (*cf.* vv. 110-20 with vv. 607-11 and vv. 779-86), it is also not improbable that the "Lai" in this particular derives from Gaimar. That the author of the "Lai" should not have quite so clear a conception of the flight—as suggested by his remark in vv. 107-8—' Le travers orent de la mer, Mes ne sevent quel part turner ' ; is only to be expected from a recent, or comparatively recent, immigrant (*cf.* §3 *supra*).

(2) The English and the Anglo-Norman versions are also at variance in the geography of their accounts. In the former Athelwold (=Adelbriht of Gaimar and Achebrit of the "Lai") is king over all England ; he summons all his lords and barons 'fro Rokesburw al into Doevere' (v. 139); he appoints 'therl Godrigh of Cornwayle' (v. 178) to be guardian over his daughter ; the earl fetches Goldborough (=Argentille of Gaimar and the "Lai") 'fro Winchestre ther sho was' (v. 318) and 'dede leden hire to Doure' (v. 320). On the other hand, we have in Gaimar two local kings whose territories are very definitely described ; first Edelsi's :

'Sue ert Nicole e Lindesi, Des Humbre tresqu'en Rotelant Ert le pais en sun cumant' (vv. 48-50); then Adelbriht's: 'Des Colecestre tresqu'en Hoilant Durot sun regne en un tenant (vv. 73-4); and the whole of the action of the story, in so far as it takes place in England at all, takes place strictly within the limits thus assigned. When, later, Gaimar comes to deal with the entry in the A.S. Chronicle *s.a.* 702 all he found was: 'Her Kenred feng to Sudhumbra rice,' which he renders correctly enough by: 'Kenred regna sur Suthumbreis' (v. 1594); then he launches out into a description of that kingdom: 'Des Humbre tresqu'en Rotelant Durot cel regne e plus avant' (vv. 1597-8), which, though apparently confused somewhat by him with the bounds of the extensive diocese of Lincoln, yet corresponds in a remarkable degree to the kingdom assigned by him to Edelsi. Earlier students of the story have already made clear that the Haveloc legend in its extant form dates back to the tenth century, since it embodies incidents from the career of Anlaf Sihtricson, and in the English version 'many of the traits attributed to Athelwold appear to be borrowed from the praises so universally bestowed by our ancient historians on the character of Alfred' (Skeat, *op. cit.* v. 45 note). Hence it seems likely that the English "Havelok" has preserved the original geography of the story better than Gaimar, who is probably entirely responsible for the conception in his version as he appears to be acquainted with other local East Anglian traditions going back apparently to the days when East Anglia and Lindsey were ruled by their own royal families. Though, as we saw in § 3, the author of the "Lai" has only a very vague idea of the geography of his story—except in so far as Lincolnshire, his presumed residence, is concerned—it is noteworthy that he only knows Edelsi and Achebrit as local East Anglian rulers, that he describes the former's kingdom only and in terms very similar to Gaimar, and that all the action of his story, which takes

INTRODUCTION

place in England, does so in the same limited area as in Gaimar : which all suggests that the "Lai" derives this information from Gaimar.

(3) Another striking difference between the English and the Anglo-Norman versions lies in the manner in which Argentille becomes aware of Haveloc's royal descent. In the English "Havelok" the hero after his marriage decides to go to his kinsfolk at Grimsby ; during the night after their arrival, his wife, unable to sleep, sees a bright light coming out of her husband's mouth and a bright cross on his shoulder, of both of which the explanation is given her by an angel. Haveloc that same night has a double dream in which is foreshadowed very plainly his conquest of Denmark and of England. The Anglo-Norman versions give nothing of all this. There is recorded a dream, which is very skilfully introduced to form the motive for the departure of Haveloc to Grimsby and the turning point in the hero's fortunes, but it is dreamt by Argentille and the dream itself is entirely different from that in the English version and has only a rather vague reference to the subsequent events. At the same time the dream and its circumstances seem reminiscent of the situation, as described by Bérout, of Tristran and Iseult when surprised in the forest by king Mark. Here, too, it is the lady who has the dream ; as Argentille saw herself 'entre la mer e un bosage' (G. v. 195), so Iseult thought 'qu'ele ert en une grand gaudine' (Bérout v. 2066) ; in both cases the dream is of animals and in both cases the lady is awakened by her sudden fright and makes an important discovery, which forms a turning point in both stories. Iseult dreams of 'dui lion Qui la voloient devorer' (Bérout vv. 2068-9), by which we are presumably to understand Tristran and Mark. Argentille's dream is more complicated but is as evidently designed to fit in with the actual circumstances of the Anglo-Norman versions ; in the first part, the fight between the bear, with its companion foxes, and the boars who attack them, we have apparently an allusion to

the fight on the seashore between Gunter of Denmark and Arthur of Britain (*cf.* G. vv. 408-14); in the second part the 'dous leons' which 'chaeient a genuilluns' (G. v. 228) most probably refer to the two usurping kings, Odulf of Denmark and Edelsi of East Anglia, who are afterwards defeated by Haveloc. It is clear, then, that this version of Argentille's dream, which is common to Gaimar and the "Lai," and in which, as we have seen, the latter offers a large proportion of parallel passages, was designed purposely to fill its present position. If, now, we turn to Gaimar's account of the murder of Edmund Ironside we read (vv. 4411-6) :

Edriz ot fait un engin faire
 L'arc Qui ne falt eissi set traire ;
 Se rien atuche la cordele
 Tost pot oir male novele ;
 Neis un ovet s'il i fereit
 De sa seete le fendeit.

Though the actual circumstances of the deed are obscure, it would seem certain that the method described in such detail by Gaimar was not that actually adopted, and the natural inference that it is his own addition is strengthened by the fact that elsewhere he is at variance with the other authorities in his descriptions of violent deaths and seems to prefer in such cases the most picturesque and unusual method of dispatch available from any of his sources. Further, there can, I think, be no doubt that in this passage he is referring to the same weapon as that described by Bérout in vv. 1751-64 of his "Tristan" and the expressions¹ used by the later

¹ *cf.* especially vv. 1751-4 :

La ou il erent en cel gaut
Trova Tristan l'arc Qui ne faut
 En tel maniere el bois *le fist*
 Riens ne trove qu'il n'oceist ;

and vv. 1761-2 :

Tristan, par droit e par raison,
 Quant *ot fait* l'arc, *li mist* cel non.

INTRODUCTION

writer suggest that he is reasserting on Tristran's behalf the claim to the invention of the wonderful bow against some possible rival nor is it improbable that he had this very passage of Gaimar in mind, though it seems clear, from the earlier poet's own account, that he did not imagine Edric as the inventor of 'l'arc Qui ne falt' but only as using an already well-known device. Be that as it may, the weapon undoubtedly derives from the Tristran story, which must therefore have been known to Gaimar. It follows, then, that Argentille's dream, which has also points of contact with the Tristran story, is probably due in its entirety to Gaimar. Further, as the "Lai" has substantially the same version, we should then, if the above argument be accepted, have an additional ground for believing it derived from Gaimar.

(4) Whereas there is in the English version no definite statement as to the time of the action and no attempt to locate it in any particular historical period, there is in Gaimar a very definite intention to assign the action to the years between the death of Arthur and the settlement of Cerdic in A.D. 495. He tells us that Edelsi and Adelbriht reigned 'quant Costentins ert chevetaine, Cil Costentins, li nies Arthur, Qui ot l'espee Calibur' (vv. 42-4); that, in the time of Haveloc's father, 'li reis Arthur la vint cunquerre Pur sun treu que li detint' (vv. 408-9); that the usurping king of Denmark was much hated 'pur sun seigneur qu'il aveit mort Par la vertu Arthur le fort' (vv. 511-2); and that he was 'frere al rei Aschis, Qui pur Arthur suffrid la mort, La u Modred li fist tel tort' (vv. 522-4). Moreover, these pseudo-historical particulars are clearly derived from Geoffrey of Monmouth. Thus in Book ix., cap. xi. (Evans' translation), we are told how Arthur sails to Norway in order to secure for Lot his inheritance and how 'when Arthur landed upon the coast of Norway king Riculf met him with the whole people of the kingdom and did battle, but after much

blood was shed on both sides the Britons at last prevailed and making an onset slew Riculf with a number of his men' (cf. G. 411-4); and in Book xi., cap. ii., we learn that in the battle against Modred there fell on Arthur's side 'Aschil king of Denmark' (cf. G. 522-4). We know from other allusions that Gaimar used and in all probability translated Geoffrey of Monmouth. Thus in Book xi., cap. i., we learn that Modred 'pledged himself by covenant to give him [*sc.* Cheldric] that part of the island which stretcheth from the river Humber as far as Scotland and whatever Horsus and Hengist had possessed in Kent in the time of Vortigern'—with which compare the statements in the 'prologue' as analysed in § 1. Further, in view of Gaimar's acquaintance with Gildas-Nennius, as shown by his use of the rare word 'cyules' in v. 2511, the allusion in v. 39: 'Se co est veir que Gilde dit' acquires additional significance.¹ All this goes to show that for the Arthurian connections of the Haveloc story Gaimar alone is responsible because the above details and others of the same type are only explicable as aids to an attempt to pass off as serious history what has not hitherto been regarded as such. Though it is a usual thing for the writers of 'lais' to set the action of their stories in the time of Arthur, the allusions to him in the "Lai d'Haveloc" have not this general tone; though the poem does not profess to be history, and consequently there is no need for him to insist on such details, it is noteworthy that the only allusions he does make are to points duly emphasised for their historical value by Gaimar in his account. Thus, in his induction, the author of the "Lai" tells us:

En icel tens Arthur regna,
Vers Denemarche mer passa;
La terre volt suzmettre a sei
E le treu avoir del rei (vv. 27-30);

¹ cf. note *ad loc.*

INTRODUCTION

and insists, on two occasions, that Odulf received the Danish crown by Arthur's help (*cf.* vv. 37-8 and vv. 605-6). Here again everything points to the "Lai" deriving its Arthurian references from Gaimar.

Though each of these four cases taken by itself would not be sufficient to establish my view, yet, taken together, their evidence, coupled with the indications previously given in this section, is so strong that I can see no alternative but to dismiss Kupferschmidt's hypothetical source as non-existent and to assert that the "Lai" is undoubtedly derived in the main from Gaimar's version of the Haveloc story.

In the course of the present section I have had occasion to refer to the influence of the 'lais' in general on the author of the "Lai d'Haveloc," and earlier I pointed to an apparent borrowing from Marie de France as an indication of the date of the "Lai" (*cf.* § 3); it is now time to establish this dependence as an actual fact. The public recognition of Haveloc in Sigar's hall results, both in Gaimar and in the "Lai," from his ability to blow a wonderful horn, but there are two slight additions of phrase in the latter, which, though they make no difference to the tenour of the passage, are of great importance in a discussion of the presumed relations between the "Lai" and Marie de France. Just at this point in the story there is a considerable divergence between the readings of the two MSS., but here again that of P. is to be preferred, for in H. there is a manifest repetition of the phraseology of the earlier allusion to the horn in vv. 47-50. The passage in question reads:

Sun chamberlenc ad apelle,
Le cor le rei ad demande;
De sun tresor fet aporter
Le cor ke nuls ne poet soner (vv. 879-82);

where the second couplet is an amplification of the statement contained in Gaimar v. 670, but the first is an additional statement made by the "Lai." Then, in both versions,

Sigar offers to give his ring to the one who shall succeed in sounding the horn and, after all others have made the attempt in vain, hands it to Haveloc—in Gaimar without explanation or encouragement, but in the "Lai" :

Amis, fet il, kar assaiez
Se ja soner le poriez. (vv. 893-4)

If we turn to Marie de France's "Guigemar" we find in the dénouement of that "lai," which offers a certain parallel of situation, these two phrases :

Un chamberlenc apele a sei
Ki la chemise ot a garder
Il li comande a apporter (vv. 796-8)

and :

' Dame,' fet il, ' kar assaiez
Se desfaire le purriez ' (vv. 807-8)

When in addition we meet the parallel in the openings of the "Lai" and of "Guigemar" already noted by Warnke¹ and echoes such as :

La verite t'en cunterai.	Lai v. 600
La verite vus cunterai.	Gui. v. 313 (MS.H.)
De ren ne vus en mentirai.	Lai v. 756
De rien ne vous en mentirai.	Gui. v. 314 (MS. P.)

it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that "Guigemar," at least, was known to the author of the "Lai." As we saw in §3, there is also ground for presuming his acquaintance with "Les dous Amants." Echoes such as the following :

Terme lur mist, jor lur noma. Lai v. 303
Terme li dune e nume jur. Eliduc v. 698

¹ Volenters devreit l'om oir E recunter e retenir. Lai vv. 1-2.
Volentiers devroit on oir Cose quist boine a retenir. Gui. vv. 1-2
(MS. P.).

It will be noted that the parallels pointed out are not always with the same MS. The references are to Warnke's 3rd edition of the "Lais" of Marie de France.

INTRODUCTION

and

Li criz leva en la cite.
Li criz leva en la cite.

Lai v. 704
Eliduc v. 146

in the latter of which, though the fact is stated by Gaimar (v. 543), the expression is different, and the parallel between Argentille's dependence on the chamberlain for advice and guidance in the matter of the visit to the hermit—an incident peculiar to the "Lai" and recognised by Kupferschmidt as an addition to the story by the author of the "Lai"—and the assistance rendered to Guillardun by the chamberlain suggest that the story of "Eliduc" was also known to him. Further, the fact that the use he makes of Marie de France is similar in kind though not in degree to the use I suggest he makes of Gaimar is in itself some slight confirmation of my theory.

If we examine carefully Gaimar's account we shall notice that, after Haveloc and his wife set out for Grimsby, the latter seems to fade out of the story altogether, and the only part she takes in the subsequent action is to persuade Haveloc to adopt the 'dead men' ruse whereby he succeeds in getting the better of Edelsi and in securing his submission. Very different is her position in the "Lai," where we are met by patent efforts to enhance her importance and to keep her before the mind of the reader. Thus, in the dream, in which in Gaimar she herself does not figure: Cuaran pur pour qu'il ot Sur un des granz arbres muntot (vv. 231-2), we find her shown in the "Lai" as sharing in the events thereof:

Cuaran fu en grant effrei,
Tant pur s'amie cum pur sei,
Sur un alt arbre andui munterent
Pur les liuns k'il reduterent vv. 429-32.

Then we have Argentille's visit to the hermit, which is unnecessary to the unfolding of the story, and disturbs

the sequence of events somewhat, but is added by the author of the "Lai" in order to increase her share in the action¹; next, when Kelloc tells them who Haveloc is and that he will be welcome in Denmark, Argentille :

. . . quant ele oi
Mult durement s'en esjoi
A els pramet fei e amur,
Si Deus la met a nul honur
Mult lur fera grant ben co dit (vv. 635-9);

again, after Haveloc has secured his kingdom and reigned there some time, Argentille :

. . . li conseilla
K'il passast mer en Engleterre
Pur sun heritage conquere
Dunt sis uncles l'aveit jetee
E a grant tort desheritee (vv. 984-8) ;

whereas in Gaimar he goes to England immediately after his coronation without any prompting from his wife. Finally, there is a slight difference even in her relation to the 'dead men' ruse : in Gaimar the idea does not originate with her (*cf.* vv. 771-3) and Haveloc had apparently no intention of giving up his attempt after the drawn battle of the first day; but in the "Lai" such action is definitely ascribed to him and he is only dissuaded by his wife, and the ruse is there put forward as the queen's own invention (*cf.* vv. 1055-60).

¹ That this incident is an addition is shown by the attempt the author makes to provide a motive for it. As in Gaimar, Haveloc explains his wife's dream by reference to circumstances and conditions in the kitchen; then, in reply to her query, in the "Lai," he explains the mystic flame in similar terms (vv. 479-82) and immediately, in self-contradiction but in agreement now with Gaimar, confesses his ignorance of its meaning (vv. 485-8). Thus he suggests that his interpretation of the flame *was* wrong and that his interpretation of the dream *might be* wrong also, thereby justifying Argentille in turning elsewhere for advice.

INTRODUCTION

This well-marked endeavour on the side of the author of the "Lai" to give Argentille a 'fatter' part I attribute to the influence of Marie de France's "Dous Amants" in particular—not in the sense that her work was actually before him when he wrote, but that the incidents of that and others of her "Lais" were present in his mind at the time he was engaged upon his "Lai d'Haveloc."

In spite of the close resemblances between Gaimar and the "Lai," which have led us to assume the dependence of the latter on the former, there are, as we have just seen, minor differences; some are due entirely or in part to the fact that the author of the later poem is writing a "lai" and not a historical episode, but others seem to require an additional explanation. As was pointed out in the discussion, in § 3, of the local allusions, the "Lai" in those particulars appears to embody a later tradition than Gaimar, and there are grounds, as already indicated, for supposing that the 'strongest man' motive is one of these later accretions of tradition. There remain two important features in which the "Lai" differs from Gaimar; they do not seem explicable as a simple expansion of his facts, nor as a rejection of them and adoption of an alternative, but only as a combination of sources in the manner just hinted at.

We first meet Haveloc, in Gaimar's version, in a menial position at Edelsi's court, where his generous disposition has made him a favourite with everybody, but it is only gradually—first by the hint conveyed in vv. 159–60: 'Puroc s'il ert en tel despit, Venuz esteit de gentil lit,' then by the full disclosure at Grimsby—that we learn of his royal descent. On the other hand, the author of the "Lai," in order to conform better to his type, gives an account of Haveloc's parentage and childhood before introducing us to him at Edelsi's court and consequently has to give some explanation of his going there. Though he sets himself a more difficult task—for it is easier to persuade us that

Haveloc is a scullion when we have no reason to suspect the contrary than when we know already who he is—and though his non-success in this matter does not much concern us, there are points which do. Haveloc's generous disposition is described in terms very similar to those employed by Gaimar, but in the "Lai" he does not appear to have gained the general respect; rather, though all, including Edelsi, wonder at his strength—'A grant merveille le teneit Pur la force k'en lui aveit' (vv. 277-8)—they seem to laugh at him and consider him a fool—'Le teneient entr'els a sot' (v. 258)—and throughout there are vague indications that the author was acquainted with a rougher and more boisterous hero than the one he found in Gaimar, one with whom the 'strongest man' motive was more in keeping and one who was already on the way to becoming the rough-and-tumble hero of the English version of the story.

The other feature, more interesting and more important, involves a study of the whole of the events connected with Haveloc's recognition by Sigar. In Gaimar, Sigar sees Haveloc for the first time when he is besieged in the church tower after successfully resisting the attempt to abduct his wife and the steps in the recognition are well worked out. Haveloc so resembles his late father that Sigar is moved in his favour, grants him a truce, and takes him to his hall (*cf.* especially vv. 557-8: 'Sigar le vit si l'avisad, Del rei Guntier dunc li membrad'). Then, in answer to Sigar's question, Haveloc relates his history and tells his name, which wakens further memories in Sigar's mind (*cf.* especially vv. 619-22:

Sigar s'estut si escultad;
 Del fiz le rei si li membrad
 A icel nun dunt il diseit,
 Le fiz Guntier cel nun aveit);

INTRODUCTION

and this recalls to him the wonderful flame :

Si li membrad d'un altre vice,
Qu'il sot jadis par la nurrice,
De la flamme qui ert issant
De sa buche quant ert dormant (vv. 623-6).

He decides to put Haveloc to the test and, being convinced by the result, proceeds to the public recognition following the trial of the horn. In the "*Lai*" the same striking resemblance between Haveloc and his father is referred to at greater length and with more insistence than in Gaimar (*cf.* especially vv. 741-6 :

Ententivement l'esgarda,
De sun seignur li remembra,
Del rei Gunter, k'il tant ama.
Anguisusement suspira.
Cil li resemblot de visage
E de grandur e de corsage).

Then, as in Gaimar, Haveloc recounts his story and mentions his name, which is familiar to Sigar (*cf.* especially vv. 813-5 : 'Li riches hom se purpensa, En sun corage li membra, Ke si ot nun li fiz le rei'), but it is not until this point that the truce is arranged and Haveloc taken to Sigar's hall, where watch is kept for the flame of which, as in Gaimar, Sigar had been told by the nurse (vv. 829-30). Thus in both accounts the first steps to the recognition arise out of the resemblance of Haveloc to his father, which is so striking as to be noticeable in the heat of the angry conflict—so striking indeed that apparently Sigar from horseback sees it in Haveloc, who is up on the church tower. Nevertheless, when, *in the "Lai,"* previous to the attempted abduction, Haveloc had sat, an honoured guest, at Sigar's table (vv. 675-8 and vv. 717-8), this striking resemblance passes entirely unnoticed. In the English version the sequence of events is different and the recognition depends solely on the

flame, wherefore, although Ubbe (=Sigar) meets Haveloc previous to the assault on his lodging, he does not recognise him. These very agreements and differences between the three versions are, however, only explicable on the theory suggested above and are in themselves, as I shall now show, further refutation of Kupferschmidt's hypothesis.

Since the recognition in three stages is related both by Gaimar and the "Lai" it must on the current theory have been present in K., but, since the previous meeting of Haveloc and Sigar is related in the "Lai" and in the English "Havelok," that also must have figured in K. Therefore the hypothetical common source must already have contained this contradiction—which though unlikely is not in itself impossible—and, more important still, the earlier of the two Anglo-Norman writers, Gaimar, must have seen this contradiction, must have decided which version of the events to follow, and must have excised all references to the other so completely that no trace remains. This I cannot believe of him, any more than I could believe that he kept the allusions to Haveloc's strength but cut out all reference to the 'strongest man' motive, for, skilful as he is in many ways in telling his stories—and not least so in this very episode—there are yet so many instances of self-made confusions, which could have been set right with but a fraction of the ingenuity needed to carry out the excision demanded by the acceptance of Kupferschmidt's theory, that I regard such an excision by Gaimar as an impossibility, and therefore, here as elsewhere, reject the existence of K.

If we look still closer into the available evidence we shall find that another explanation is possible, for the previous meeting between Haveloc and Sigar proves to be an addition by the author of the "Lai." In Gaimar we learn that inquiries were on foot in Denmark to ascertain whether Haveloc was still alive, and that there was a general desire for his return; Sigar is the leader of the disaffected party,

INTRODUCTION

and we infer, though we are nowhere so told, that Haveloc goes to his part of the country in order to be among friends. In the "Lai" Haveloc is advised by Kelloc, his foster-sister, to go and see Sigar, not only because he is at enmity with the usurping king, but because, apparently, he is also Haveloc's relative by marriage (*cf.* vv. 625-32); he is advised by the merchant who took him to Denmark to go to Sigar and ask his protection because his wife's beauty will lead to inquiries concerning their origin and so to their recognition (*cf.* vv. 651-60), though such is not the actual course of events. Here we see the same partially successful motivation of subsequent events as we observed in the case of Argentille's visit to the hermit and conclude that the reason for it is the same: an addition by the author of the "Lai." Therefore I think the inconsistency is due to an attempt to graft on to the earlier story, as preserved in Gaimar, elements from the popular tradition of which still later developments are seen in the English "Havelok."

At this point it will be as well to collect the various results arrived at in the course of our discussion and to state them in as brief and definite a form as possible; the following account will be found, I think, a satisfactory summary of the conclusions to be drawn from the evidence we have so far considered.

About the middle of the twelfth century, Gaimar, who has already completed his adaptation of British history based largely on Geoffrey of Monmouth and is busily engaged upon his "*Estoire des Engleis*," meets with the Haveloc story and himself inserts it into the earlier part of his extant work, in the position in which we now find it. Early in the next century another writer, recently arrived from abroad and settled in Lincolnshire, comes across Gaimar's version, refashions it as a Breton "*lai*," thereby entailing certain alterations in plan, makes further changes of detail under the influence of Marie de France's "*Lais*," and

attempts—not altogether successfully—to combine with the story he takes from Gaimar particulars he derives from the Haveloc tradition as he found it in the locality in which he was living at the time when he wrote his “Lai d’Haveloc.” It is not possible, I think, to show conclusively from the evidence available exactly in what form he met with that tradition, but from the manner in which he makes his additions I am inclined to suggest that he was ultimately dependent upon an oral, rather than a written, version of the story—probably, since there is no evidence that he knew English, not so much on the actual vernacular accounts as on a rough summary of them supplied to him by someone conversant with both English and French.

§ 5. GAIMAR AND HIS SOURCE

Though, as we have seen, the old view of the relationship of Gaimar and the “Lai” can no longer be entertained, the larger question of the relationship of the English and French versions remains in principle the same and we have still to consider the nature of Gaimar’s immediate source and the circumstances under which he made use of it. It will, however, be impossible to attain to the same degree of certainty in the present as in the previous investigations, and probabilities, though of varying degrees, most of my conclusions in this section must remain, unless, and until, further external evidence is forthcoming.

Whatever be the ultimate origin of its component parts, the story of Haveloc in its final form is undoubtedly of English growth; therefore, since the presumed existence of K. was the only reason for supposing a French source for Gaimar, there is now no obstacle in the way of assuming

INTRODUCTION

that his immediate source was an English one. If, as Kupferschmidt held, the Lambeth Interpolation is directly derived from Gaimar then it can be of little help in determining the nature of his source, but if, as Putnam concluded, it is derived, not from Gaimar, but from a source common to the two, then, as there is nothing in it which suggests translation from the French, that source must be English and will represent one tradition as opposed to that of the English "Havelok," the other version with which we are concerned.

In the whole of the episode Gaimar makes but two references to any source, neither of which throws much light on the matter under discussion. At vv. 39-40 there is a reference to Gildas (*cf.* note *ad loc.*) ; this does not purport to indicate the source of the story but merely to corroborate the historicity of one incident of it, *viz.* the existence of two sub-kings in East Anglia in the time of Constantine, the nephew of Arthur. At vv. 755-6 he cites '*la veire estoire*' as witness to Haveloc's coronation feast, again only with reference to a single incident, not as an indication of the source of the whole story. It is noteworthy that both allusions are made to corroborate the historical rather than the legendary side of the story, and though, as was pointed out above (§ 4), the latter reference has a parallel in vv. 3939-40 of his history, yet, if we compare his use of the word '*estoire*' in the body of his work, we shall be able to take a further step towards the solution of the problem which confronts us.

Apart from the allusions in the longer epilogue, the only specific source Gaimar mentions is the A.S. Chronicle, to which he appeals as his authority a number of times with more or less definiteness and with more or less justification. He refers to it as '*croniches*' in vv. 954, 2111, 2188, 2331 ; as '*li livre ancien*' in v. 990 ; as '*la vieille geste*' in v. 2234 ; as '*des reis la dreite estoire*' in v. 2335 ; and in exactly the

same phrase as in v. 756 in v. 5713. Further, he refers to some account of St. Edmund as '*l'estorie*' in v. 2928; and to his own work as '*l'estoire qu'ot cumencied*' in v. 2930. It would appear then that Gaimar understood, or wished to be understood, by '*estoire*' a written source and that, consequently, he wished it to be inferred that for part at least of his Haveloc story he had written authority.

Not very far from the opening of his chronicle, at vv. 897-922, there is, as was noted in § 2, another interpolation by him which is of unknown origin. In one or two places the correct reading is very doubtful, but this much seems certain: the events related have been antedated by Gaimar and under the names preserved by him seem to be hidden, as previous students have suggested, memories of the Danish invasion of Mercia in A.D. 868 and of Burgred's appeal for help to the West Saxon kings. These would appear to have been attached to some local eponymous hero and to have reached Gaimar from an oral, rather than a written, source for the episode does not seem to have been familiar to any of his copyists and so was presumably not very widely known. The contrast between this hurried addition and the careful workmanship of the Haveloc episode rather suggests that for the latter Gaimar had, as he hints, a written source, a conclusion which is confirmed in part by a study of the next considerable addition made by him to the material at his disposal in the A.S. Chronicle.

When he came to the entry *s.a.* 867 he found recorded (1) a move of the Danish forces from East Anglia, where they had wintered, to Northumbria, presumably entirely by land; (2) a brief reference to internal troubles in that kingdom resulting in the deposition of Osberht and the election of Ælla; and (3) a short account of their common fate in battle at York against the Danes. This entry he treats as follows in vv. 2577-838. To (1) he adds an account of a fresh arrival of Danes who co-operate by sea in the movement

INTRODUCTION

from East Anglia to Northumbria. In place of (2) and (3) he inserts a long account of the reason for the deposition of Osberht, *viz.* the rape of Buern Bucecarle's wife, and of the deaths of Osberht and Ælla in two distinct battles near York. The method he adopts in (1) is to juxtapose the movements of the land force, based ultimately on, but freely expanded from, the A.S. Chronicle, and of the sea force deriving from the same source as the story he gives in place of (2) and (3); and he adopts the same method in his endeavours, in vv. 3251-94, to weld together the events recorded *s.a.* 880 in the A.S. Chronicle and those related in the Gormund story. In both cases other versions are preserved; in the latter they are undoubtedly independent of Gaimar, but there appears to be nothing to show whether he knew a written form of the story or was only acquainted with it orally; in the former the other versions are, it would seem, as undoubtedly dependent in part on Gaimar, but they preserve details not found in his work and their interrelations suggest the existence, almost certainly in writing, of an earlier form of the story, from which Gaimar derived his account."¹

¹ Substantially the same account as Gaimar's is preserved in the "Chronicon Johannis Bromton," as was noted by Gross in his dissertation, and also in the "Eulogium Historiarum," which in this section is based largely on the French "Brut," but the relationship between the three texts is far from clear and needs careful investigation. Gaimar is apparently the earliest of the three; Bromton undoubtedly uses Gaimar but combines matter from another source, which seems to be his usual procedure; Eulogium appears to be independent of Bromton in this passage, though agreeing with him in general outline as against Gaimar, but also to have been acquainted with the text of the latter. In Gaimar the arrival of the Danish fleet is related before the account of Buern Bucecarle; in Bromton and Eulogium not until after the decision to call in the Danes, and in both in connection with Danish leaders who are either not mentioned at all in Gaimar or only appear when he has reverted

Be that as it may, it seems probable that in this episode Gaimar has introduced incidents from an extraneous source, as the following facts will, I think, show. After recording the deposition of Osberht he goes on to relate how Ælla was boasting of a successful day's hunting when a blind man comes to him, tells him of the death of Osberht, and foretells the death of Ælla's nephew, Orin, in a forthcoming battle ; how in order to prevent this Ælla shuts up his nephew, who escapes and reaches the battlefield ; and how both uncle and nephew are killed. Bromton relates the incident of the boasting and of the announcement of Osberht's death in language apparently translated from Gaimar but leaves the identity of the messenger obscure and has no reference at all to Orin. Eulogium is still briefer as there is not even a reference to the hunting, and consequently none to Orin, but is apparently not a mere summary of Bromton. More-

more closely to his primary source, the A.S. Chronicle. At the same time details of expression and interpretation suggest that Eulogium is combining, not Gaimar and Bromton, but Gaimar and an earlier source which Bromton had already used independently in conjunction with Gaimar's account. Further, the twelfth-century "Narratio de Uxore Ærnulfi" preserves in a highly rhetorical form what is at bottom the same story, though attached to Ælla not to Osberht as in the other three accounts, and in its introductory statement appears to imply the existence of false (*i.e.* with Osberht as villain) accounts at the time it was written. Such considerations seem to render probable the existence of a written source common to Gaimar, Bromton, and Eulogium, though, in view of the comparative obscurity shrouding the interrelationship of these three texts, any conclusion must be extremely tentative.

In his brief discussion of these three versions Dr. Hans Matter ("Englische Gründungssagen von Geoffrey of Monmouth bis zur Renaissance," *Anglistische Forschungen* 58, p. 286) inclines to accept the existence of a source common to the three and in his discussion of the origin of the story (*op. cit.*, p. 285) announces his intention of making a detailed investigation of its sources.

INTRODUCTION

over, in agreement with Bromton and Eulogium, Gaimar gives the place of Ælla's death as '*Elle(s)croft*' near York, which, in view of the extreme detail of the other two accounts coupled with its consonance with the other data of the story and, to a lesser degree, with history, is to be considered the correct form of the place-name, but, having lost sight of the fact that the battle he is describing took place near York, he confuses it with an '*Elle(s)cross*' the situation of which he describes in vv. 2829-33 :

Li lius u il fud mort rued
Ellecroft est ore apeled
Devers le west une croiz ad
En miliu d'Engleterre estad
Engleis l'apellent Ellecros.

As far as can be gathered from these lines, he would appear to have in mind some place in the neighbourhood of Ellesmere in Shropshire—at any rate his statement in vv. 2831-2 points in that direction.

Certainly, he seems to be speaking of a place known to him, and as certainly the place he describes cannot be situated near York. Therefore, he would appear to have derived his account from a written source, with which he has incorporated some local tradition connected with the Ellesmere district—if the identification just proposed be accepted—and from this same source, I would suggest, he derived the story of Orin.

Should this hold good, we have probably in Gaimar's Buern Bucecarle episode a story combined from written and oral sources, and as, in spite of considerable differences of detail, there is a similarity of tone and treatment between it and the Haveloc episode, this would suggest that he stands in a similar relation to his source in both. That there is nothing inherently improbable in this presumed double origin is clear, I think, from evidence already brought

forward in the course of our investigation (*cf.* his use of details from the Tristran and Gormund stories) and receives welcome confirmation from a consideration of his version of the death of the atheling Alfred, brother of Edward the Confessor. Though other authorities relate the blinding of the atheling and the decimation of his followers, Gaimar would appear to be the only one who describes his disembowelment. The striking similarity between his account :

Idunc si pristrent Alvered
Enz en Ely l'en unt mened
Iloc firent ses oilz crever
Entur un pel le funt aler
Le gros buel l'en orent trait
Od aguilluns qu'aveient fait
Le firent tant entur aler
Pur sa buele desramer
Qu'il ne pot mes ester en piez
L'aneme s'en vait e cil sunt liez (vv. 4833-42)

and an incident recorded in the "Njals Saga" (Dasent's translation) :

Wolf the quarrelsome cut open his [Brodir's] belly and led him round and round the trunk of a tree and so wound all his entrails out of him and he did not die until they were all drawn out of him¹

suggests that it is ultimately from the latter² that he derives his description. There is no evidence to show that he could have read the saga in the original, even had it been accessible to him, nor is it likely that he would have looked it up just

¹ Njals Saga, § 157 : Ulfr hræda reist a honum kviddinn ok leiddi hann um eik ok rakti sva or honum tharmana. Ok do hann eigi fyrr, enn allir varu or honum raktir.

² Rather perhaps from the assumed Brjans Saga which is supposed to be incorporated in the latter portion of the Njals Saga (*cf.* Craigie : "The Icelandic Sagas," p. 68).

INTRODUCTION

to find this one incident, especially when we remember that this is not the only case in which his account of a death differs from the generally accepted version and shows signs of being his own addition. Therefore we must conclude that this particular one reached him orally and it is at least noteworthy that it belongs to the same stream of tradition as that relating to Anlaf Sihtricson, in part the historical prototype of Haveloc.

We have, then, grounds for believing that in his Haveloc episode Gaimar is using both written and oral sources, and I would suggest that he had at his disposal a short account of annalistic nature in English in which mention was made of Grim's flight with Haveloc ; of the latter's sojourn at Edelsi's court and marriage with Argentille ; of Haveloc's return to Grimsby, voyage to Denmark, acknowledgement by Sigar, and defeat of Odulf ; and of his return to England and conquest of his wife's inheritance. This, it will be noted, is in substantial agreement with the Lambeth Interpolation ; whatever its exact relationship to Gaimar, I consider that, with the exception of those deriving from Geoffrey of Monmouth, the names preserved by it, in common with the two Anglo-Norman versions we are studying, are more original than those of the English "Havelok."

It will be seen that this summary omits all reference to Argentille's dream, which I have given grounds for thinking due to Gaimar ; to the 'dead men' ruse, which, though there seems to be no direct proof, I cannot help suspecting is also introduced by him into the story, possibly from the same body of oral tradition as that which provided him with the atheling's death ; and to the ordeal of the wonderful horn, which it is just possible—though again I have no proof to offer—may also be an addition by Gaimar from an extraneous source, and, if so, then not originally part of the Haveloc story. All three incidents belong rather to the legendary than to the historical side of the story, a division of material

for which Gaimar's allusion in vv. 755-6 affords, as we have seen, some slight support, and I would suggest that for the latter element Gaimar's source, the probable contents of which have been outlined above, was a written one, but that for the former element he was mainly dependent on oral traditions, which appealed to his love of the picturesque.

These conclusions are, I am aware, highly speculative, though I am only advancing as a probability in Gaimar's case what I have put forward as a certainty for the "Lai." It will, however, be possible to answer somewhat more definitely the questions which next arise: where, and at what point in his translation of the A.S. Chronicle, did Gaimar meet with the story of Haveloc.

In its present form the story is undoubtedly a Lincolnshire one; we have but to review the four versions, to which we have had occasion to refer, to see that the connection with the county, and more especially with the Grimsby district, has become closer and closer, though in none of them quite so close as in the popular traditions to which Robert Manning of Brunne alludes (*cf.* Skeat, Intro. § 26). Since there appears to be no reason for supposing that the Grim legend was not an integral part of the story as Gaimar knew it, we must assume that the Haveloc story was already linked up with Lincolnshire when he met with it and conclude that it was from a Lincolnshire source he derived it.

Moreover, the evidence at our disposal allows us to go further. The confusion of Lindisfarna and Lindiswara in vv. 2163 ff., whereby he places the Danish invasion of Northumbria of A.D. 793 in Lindsey, suggests that the latter of the two names, which he retains at v. 1460 from the A.S. Chronicle (*s.a.* 678), was more familiar to him.¹

¹ The confusion may have been in his copy of the Chronicle, though this is unlikely, but the first half of the name would suggest 'Lindesi' as it did to the scribe of H. at v. 1460, which reads 'Lindeseie' for the 'Lindesware' of the other MSS.

INTRODUCTION

His detailed references to Ouse and Humber :

Amunt Humbre alerent siglant
 Desiqu'en Use e puis avant
*En la buche de Don*¹ (vv. 2185-7) ;
 A Grimesbi Humbre passerent . . .
 Desiqu'en Use unt dunc sigled (vv. 2582, 90) ;
 El flum de Humbre sunt entred
 De Humbre en Use sunt venud
 A Saint Wilfrei des nefs issud² (vv. 5210-2) ;

suppose some personal knowledge of the district. His reference at v. 3383 to Thetford as Guthrum's burial place and at vv. 4161 ff. to the translation of Swegen's body from York to Norway show a general interest in Danelagh traditions. Taken together these facts suggest that Gaimar had lived in Lincolnshire (as has generally been assumed, in part from the above allusions) and that it was while there that he came across the Haveloc story, as held hitherto.

It has long been known, thanks to the labours of earlier students, that the story of Haveloc embodies some incidents from the life of Anlaf Sihtricson, who seems early to have become a popular hero and to whose name, adventures, legendary and historical, of earlier heroes of the same, or similar, name became attached. Consequently, in so far as the story in its present form may be said to have a historical date, it belongs to the period of the Danish invasions of the

¹ The italicised expression undoubtedly renders 'æt Done muþe' of A.S. Chr. *s.a.* 794 (*cf.* v. 4189: *en la buche de Fron* = to Fromudan *s.a.* 1015 E.), but can only refer to the tributary of the Ouse owing to Gaimar's displacement of events to Lindsey (*ut supra*, and *cf.* Gross *ad loc.*).

² In this last instance the details may possibly be from the source (here not the A.S. Chronicle) from which Gaimar derived his account of the Tostig-Hardrada affair.

tenth century and yet nothing is more certain than that in Gaimar it is located in the period between the death of Arthur and the foundation of the West Saxon kingdom ; or, from our standpoint, in the gap between the history of Geoffrey of Monmouth, which Gaimar had used in his last work, and that of the A.S. Chronicle, which he uses in his extant "Estoire."

We saw that in the midst of an annal from the Chronicle, in which reference was made to Osberht and Æella, he introduced the story of Buern Bucecarle from another source, and I have referred above to his introduction of material from the Gormund story which was called to his mind by the mention of Cirencester in the A.S. Chronicle *s.a.* 879.¹ With both, the obvious care taken to weld together the double narratives suggests that the additional matter was known to him when he came to the respective annals in the Chronicle. In the former case the two accounts were in substantial chronological agreement, but in the latter, though the historical basis of the Gormund story happens to coincide with the period of the annals Gaimar is translating, the story has no such definite chronology.

Had there been any point in the A.S. Chronicle to which he could possibly have attached the Haveloc story, there is no reason to suppose he would not have done so and introduced it in its approximately correct setting. In the story of Buern Bucecarle he transferred the fact of the arrival of the Danes from its original place in the sequence of events to his introductory linking up with the narrative derived from the Chronicle, and there is nothing in the nature of the Haveloc story to prevent his having adopted the same course with it had he been so minded. That he did not do so suggests that he found nothing in the A.S. Chronicle which even

¹ As Gross (p. 110) points out, he keeps Guthrum and Gormund distinct, relating their deaths as quite separate and unconnected events.

INTRODUCTION

reminded him of the Haveloc story, a suggestion which is rather confirmed by the fact that when, *s.a.* 919, he comes across Anlaf Cwiran he has apparently not the slightest suspicion of any connection with Haveloc.¹ Therefore, when he did come across the story, he was free to insert it at any point in his narrative ; that he did not introduce it in the course of his account of the Danish invasions suggests that for some reason² he regarded it as incompatible with that period ; that he interpolated it (*cf.* § 1) instead of interweaving it as he did the Buern Bucecarle and Gormund material suggests that he had already completed the earlier portion of his translation of the A.S. Chronicle, that possibly he used it where he did in order to strengthen Canute's appeal to Edmund Ironside (*cf.* § 2), and since, as we saw, the story was a Lincolnshire one, that he was not familiar with that part of the country when he commenced his " *Estoire des Engleis.*"

Those are not the only allusions scattered throughout his work which suppose a certain acquaintance on Gaimar's part with the locality concerned. Thus in his version of the Cynewulf-Cyneheard episode he buries the latter, on his own authority, at ' *Defurel* ' (v. 1919), which is probably to be identified with one of the Deverills in Wiltshire, a part of the country with which his account of the death of Edward the Martyr appears to be connected. When he comes to the English defeat at Reading in A.D. 871 he

¹ Thus he cannot have confused Constantine of Scotland, the father-in-law of the historical Anlaf, with Constantine, the nephew of Arthur, as Skeat (Intro. § 23) asserted.

² Though the Arthurian connection in Gaimar and the " *Lai* " is, as I hold, largely due to the former, it is possible he found the story loosely attached to the period of the Anglo-Saxon settlements ; if so, this would account, in part, for the desire to strengthen the connection with the early history of the country.

describes, in some detail and on his own authority, the line of their retreat :

... a Wiscelet
 Iloc l'un ost alad ariere
 Ne sorent gued sur la riviére
 Twiford ad nun le gued tut dis
 U les Daneis sunt resortiz
 E les Engleis sunt eschapez (vv. 2964, 67-72)¹ ;

and to the same locality a confusion at v. 3190, if it could be substantiated, would point.

In the description of Alfred's victory at 'Ethandun' in A.D. 878 the place name is given in R. as 'Edenesdone,' which, as it stands, is manifestly incorrect since it renders the line hypermetrical ; the readings of the other three MSS. (D. Abendune, H. Abengdoune, L.—apparently meaning the same place—Apendune) satisfy metrical but not historical requirements. This divergence would not present any great difficulty were it not for the fact that Bromton, who elsewhere appears to make use of a Gaimar MS. of the R. family, is here in striking agreement with the other group.² Until the relationship between Gaimar and Bromton has

¹ In R. there is an explanatory couplet after 'Wiscelet'—
 'Co est un gue vers Windesoveres A unes estand en unes mores'
 (vv. 2965-6)—which shows that for the scribe (or a predecessor)
 'Wiscelet' = Whistley Park, near Windsor, and that this locality
 was familiar to him. The route described by Gaimar must be one
 which will allow the retreating English to fall back on their base
 and be in a position to fight the battle of Ashdown four days later.
 With this condition a retreat eastward beyond Windsor seems in-
 compatible, but the identification of 'Wiscelet' with Whistley,
 near Hurst, fits in with Twyford, both places being in the Loddon
 Valley, and meets this objection. For the name cf. Skeat: "Place
 Names of Berkshire"; cf. also, on this passage, Plummer *s.d.* 871.

² cf. Bromton, col. 810: in crastino hora nona (= G. 3189 :
 e lendemain a hure de none) Abendonæ ipsis Danis ibidem tunc
 existentibus pervenerunt (cited from Gross, p. 107).

INTRODUCTION

been satisfactorily elucidated it is impossible to decide whether the former wrote in v. 3190 'Abendune' with D.L.H., or 'Edendone,' from which the reading in R. would derive. The possibility of the confusion being due to our author cannot be entirely excluded since he seems to have in mind some local traditions while dealing with this section, for when, in vv. 3168-72, he has occasion to refer to the men of Somerset, Dorset, and Wiltshire who met Alfred at 'Ecgbryhtes stane' (=probably Brixton Deverill, in Wiltshire) he introduces three leaders, Ceolmer, 'Chude,' and 'Chilman,' none of whom are known to history from any other source and two of whose names, in their original Anglo-Saxon form, are also uncertain.

Another series of allusions which point to residence by Gaimar south of the Thames are those relating to Winchester as the home of the A.S. Chronicle and containing traditions referring to its origin and custody. Thus, into his enumeration, after the A.S. Chr. *s.a.* 827, of the eight Bretwaldas he introduces an account of the compilation of the Chronicle which concludes :

Ore est issi auctorized
 Qu'a Wincestre al evesquied
 La est des reis la dreite estoire
 E les vies e la memoire
 Li reis Elvred l'ot en demeine
 Fermer i fist une chaeine
 Qui lire volt bien i gardast
 Mais de sun liu nel remuast (vv. 2333-40);

which seems to embody some local Winchester tradition explaining the situation of the Chronicle there in the mid-twelfth century though not necessarily true of an earlier state of affairs. Again, to his summing-up of Alfred's character he adds :

Il fist escrire un livre Engleis
 Des aventures e des leis

E des batailles de la terre
 E des reis qui firent guerre
 E maint livre fist il escrire
 U li bon clerc vont suvent lire (vv. 3451-6);

which points to some Winchester tradition and possibly, as we shall see, to a more intimate connection with Hampshire.

The remarkable and challenging conclusion to his "Estoire": 'Qui co ne creit alt a Wincestre Oir purrad si veir pot estre' (vv. 6435-6), referring as it does to Gaimar's account of the death of William Rufus in the New Forest, an account utterly at variance with those of the other authorities, also suggests a fairly intimate connection with Hampshire on his part, and of this still further indications are furnished by his "Estoire." These are his introduction of Portsmouth (v. 2026) into his rendering of the A.S. Chr. s.a. 779¹; his placing of the coronation of Ethelred the Unready at Winchester, 'devant l'altel de Saint Vincenz' (v. 4083), not at Kingston as in the Chronicle; his mention of Porchester (v. 4556) as the place at which ships were assembled by the supporters of Edmund Ironside's sons; and possibly, if he does not derive it from the Gormund story, the substitution of Cherbourg (v. 3411) for Boulogne as the port of embarkation of the Danes in A.D. 893.²

These allusions are all of as definite a nature as those to Lincolnshire, which have been generally accepted as satisfactory evidence of his residence in that part of England, and, therefore, we are justified in drawing a similar conclusion here, viz. that he had also lived in Wessex, more especially perhaps in the Berkshire-Hampshire district. This double

¹ cf. my note on "The Fictitious Battle of Portsmouth in Gaimar" in M.L.R. xv., p. 422.

² His account, in vv. 2395-402, of the 'gefeht æt Hamtune' of A.D. 837 seems to be somewhat coloured by interest in the port.

INTRODUCTION

area of residence makes it all the easier to understand the interest taken by Gaimar in East Anglian history and legends, and also in those of Wessex, to which his account of Edward the Martyr and of the love-story of Edgar and Ælfdryd belong. Further, we now have an answer to the question propounded above. Gaimar was living south of the Thames, in the district just specified, when he began his adaptation of the A.S. Chronicle.

So much for internal evidence, but, fortunately, we are not entirely dependent on that for certain threads of external evidence are available to strengthen the conclusion at which we have just arrived. In discussing the dialect in which Gaimar's episode is written I had occasion to refer (*cf.* § 2) to the longer epilogue to his work and to my belief in its authenticity. This is not the place to enter into a detailed examination of that question, but the evidence which I am about to adduce in support of my present contention is also, in part, that on which that belief is based.

That epilogue, which is found only in R., purports to give an account of the circumstances under which Gaimar undertook and carried out his work and refers to a certain 'dame Custance la gentil,' who had encouraged him in his work and had procured for him, through her husband, 'Raul le fiz Gilebert,' certain necessary books. Several attempts had been made to identify the latter but no definite conclusion had been arrived at, largely because investigators were inclined to lay undue weight on Gaimar's Lincolnshire connections. In *Notes and Queries* (12 s. viii. 104) I contributed a note—"Gaimar's Patron: Raul le fiz Gilebert"—in which I summed up the position of research on this point and published a charter recording a grant by a 'Radulphus filius Gileberti' and his wife 'Constancia' to the Priory of Southwick, with whom I proposed to identify Gaimar's patrons. I also gave grounds for assuming that the grantor held the manor of Eastleigh in the same county and for

supposing, though more doubtfully, that this Ralf fitz Gilbert was identical with the benefactor of Markby and Stixwould Priors in Lincolnshire. Since my note appeared in print the identity of the Lincolnshire and Hampshire Ralf fitz Gilberts has been confirmed by Canon Foster,¹ so that the information of the longer epilogue is corroborated in this particular, and the conclusion that Gaimar knew personally two widely separated districts receives further support.

Two other facts now acquire considerable interest, if not importance, in view of Gaimar's connection with Hampshire and, probably, with Southwick Priory, for two of the Cottonian MSS. have belonged to this religious establishment and their connection with it dates apparently from about the middle of the twelfth century. The first of them is Otho B.xi., which was largely destroyed in the great Cottonian fire. It comprised a MS. of Alfred's translation of Bede's "Ecclesiastical History"—according to Wanley 'exemplum antiquum primitiis Eccles. B. Mariae de Suuika'²—and also a MS. of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle itself—that designated by Plummer as A.—which was possibly the one at Winchester when Gaimar made his translation and may have been that used by him.³ The second MS. under consideration here is Vitellius A. xv. — the famous Beowulf

¹ In private communications. Canon Foster informs me that there seems to be no doubt that some of the Lincolnshire possessions were held by the family to which Ralf fitz Gilbert belonged from the time of Domesday but that there is no evidence to show whether Eastleigh had been in their possession so early. Canon Foster also informs me of his intention of writing about Ralf fitz Gilbert, concerning whom he has been collecting materials for many years.

² cited from Miller : "O.E. Bede," vol. i., p. xvi. (E.E.T.S.); and *cf.* Plummer : "Life and Times of Alfred the Great," p. 168 n. The inscription is no longer extant.

³ *cf.* Plummer, vol. ii., p. civ., n. 4.

INTRODUCTION

codex ¹—ff. 4–93 of which contain, along with other pieces, the Alfredian version of Augustine's Soliloquies ; this part was originally a separate codex and bears on f. 5 an inscription of the mid-twelfth century : *Hic liber est ecclesie beate Marie de Suuika etc.*²

Since both contain Old English works intimately connected with Alfred, since both belonged to Southwick Priory at the period when Gaimar was writing his "Estoire," and since we have evidence to connect him, through his patrons, with that foundation, it would not be extravagant to suppose that both the O.E. Bede and Augustine were actually known to him and that he is thinking of them in particular when referring to Alfred's books in vv. 3451–6. Wanley's description of Otho B.xi. rather suggests that it was a composite MS. ; on the other hand, Plummer seems to consider it as one single MS.³ In any case, it is, I think, quite

¹ Neither K. Sisam : "The 'Beowulf' Manuscript" (M.L.R. xi., p. 335) nor S. I. Rypins : "The Beowulf Codex" (*Mod. Phil.* xvii., p. 173) is specially concerned with this part of the present MS.

² The remainder of the inscription is a warning against removing the volume, couched in very similar terms to that on f. 2 of another MS. in the British Museum which was formerly at Southwick Priory, *viz.* Arundel 48. In view of the fact that two of the Gaimar MSS.—D. and L.—contain a translation in French verse of the Description of Britain from Henry of Huntingdon, lib. I., §§ 4, 5, 7, it is not without interest that Arundel 48 contains his history.

³ If it could be shown that Gaimar actually used this MS., then the O.E. Bede and the A.S. Chronicle must have formed one volume already in his time. It is at least noteworthy in this connection that on one or two occasions Gaimar has statements additional to those in the Chronicle but deriving from Bede and that the copy of the Chronicle he used included episcopal lists as did Otho B. xi. (*cf.* vv. 2329–30 : *E des evesques ensement Firent li clerc adrescement*).

within the bounds of probability that, if he did not actually use this MS. of the A.S. Chronicle there, it was the interest aroused by his studies and labours which resulted in its transference from Winchester to Southwick, whenever that took place.

We have now reached the end of our investigation, and it will be convenient to recapitulate briefly the conclusions to which we have come in the course of the present section. They are as follows : Gaimar, having at the instigation, and with the support, of Constance, wife of Ralf fitz Gilbert, the holder of land in Hampshire and Lincolnshire and a generous benefactor of the Church, commenced in his southern home an Anglo-Norman translation of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle as a sequel to one of Geoffrey of Monmouth, follows the fortunes of the family to which he is attached and moves into Lincolnshire, where he becomes acquainted, from written and oral sources, with a number of stories relating to that part of the country. Among them is that of Haveloc, which interests him greatly and on the literary shaping of which he spends evident care ; he cannot insert it into the body of his "Estoire" for it clashes with his authority, the A.S. Chronicle ; he is loth to leave it and sees a possibility of finding room for it in his work by making it serve as a justification, in some sort, of Canute's claim to the kingdom. Therefore he fits it in as well as possible into the only available place for it—the obscure period between the death of Arthur and the foundation of Wessex when anything might have happened—and it would then be difficult to disprove, even had anyone in the twelfth century wished to do so, the truth of the story.

Such are the conclusions at which we have arrived concerning the origin of Gaimar's Haveloc episode. Of its literary merits I have no intention of speaking here, though a simple comparison with the "Lai" will show that it is not entirely devoid of such. It is, perhaps, one of the best

INTRODUCTION

parts of his "Estoire" but is by no means the only one which makes really interesting reading, and certainly gives a much better idea of Gaimar's capabilities as a story-teller than the earlier and more annalistic portion of his extant work, where he is cramped by his much more literal adherence to his source. It is difficult to say how far he had proceeded in his translation before he wrote the episode, but I cannot help feeling that it was, in part, an expression of gratitude to his patrons—not, of course, to the exclusion of the more formal reference in the epilogue, nor was it necessarily written at a very late stage in his compilation. The relations of Haveloc and Argentille, as also those of Buern Bucecarle and his wife, seem to me—a fancy, no doubt—to reflect in some measure Gaimar's conception of the ideal relation between husband and wife. If this be granted, would it, then, be too fanciful to imagine that to 'dame Custance' and to 'Raul le fiz Gilebert,' to whom he owed so much materially, he was also indebted for a realisation, limited perhaps, of that ideal relation?

§ 6. THE MSS. OF GAIMAR'S HAVELOC EPISODE

Though the "Estoire des Engleis" is extant in four MSS. of varying date, it will be more convenient, as we are concerned here with the Haveloc episode only, to postpone consideration of that one among them which omits this portion of Gaimar's work. Further, as the MSS. have already been described in the introduction to the edition in the Rolls Series and elsewhere, I shall not attempt an exhaustive account of them. They are as follows:

1. *D*=*Durham* (*Cathedral*), *G. iv.* 27; early 13th cent.; 2 cols. of 36 lines, from f. 139 onward 1 col.; initials in red and green.

The MS. is written by four 'hands,' who divide the work thus : *Hand I.*—f. 1r°—f. 59v°, leaving the final half-column blank ; the gatherings are marked I.—VI. *Hand II.*—f. 60r°—f. 96v°, completing the gathering left unfinished by the first hand ; the other gatherings are marked *a—e.* *Hand III.*—f. 97r°—f. 138v°, finishing 13 lines from the top of the second column and repeating on the first page the last couplet from f. 96v° ; the first gathering is marked *e*, being the conclusion of the previous series, but the remainder are undistinguished. *Hand IV.*—f. 138v°—f. 167v°, following immediately on the previous hand and finishing half way down the last page ; the gatherings are not marked.

Its contents, with the articles of which the division into 'hands' does not always coincide, are :

(a) f. 1r°—f. 94r° col. 1—a translation of Geoffrey of Monmouth ascribed to Wace, but the Prophecies of Merlin, which he omitted, are here inserted, between f. 42v° and f. 48r°, according to the version of one 'Helias.'

(b) f. 94r° col. 2—f. 138v°—Gaimar's "Estoire des Engleis."

(c) f. 139r°—f. 167v°—Jordan Fantosme's Chronicle.

The foliation of the MS. also calls for a few remarks. Up to f. 136v° the sequence of gatherings (of eight leaves) is unbroken ; at that point only two lines of the "Estoire" remained to be copied, but as the scribe had also to copy the "Description of Britain" (to which further reference will be made) he took a half-gathering and used the first, and part of the second, leaf thereof (=ff. 137–138). Then a whole gathering (=ff. 139–146) copied by the fourth hand, who also completed f. 138 by adding the epilogue to Gaimar, was inserted after the final page of Gaimar to bind the half-gathering more firmly ; this is shown by the fact that, although the narrative runs straight on to the next gathering (=ff. 147–154), two leaves (=the opposites of ff. 137–138) have been cut away. They were possibly used up later in

INTRODUCTION

the volume, for the last five leaves do not form part of a gathering but are arranged thus : ff. 163, 164, 165—three separate leaves, of which the last shows traces of having lost its opposite ; then ff. 166, 167—two leaves with stitching between.

The MS. has been at Durham certainly since early in the 18th cent., for it is described in the catalogue of the Cathedral MSS. compiled by Rud in 1727 ; he regarded the volume as containing one poem in three parts, *viz.* ff. 1r°–59v° ; ff. 60r°–138v° ; ff. 139r°–167v° ; and supposed Wace to be the author of the whole ; to him or to an earlier reader is probably due the note at the top of f. 60r° : *Poema superioris continuatio ut videtur sed ab alio librario descripta.*

2. *L=Lincoln (Cathedral)*, *A.* 4. 12 ; later 13th cent. ; 2 cols. of 32 lines, from f. 158 onward 1 col. ; initials in red and blue.

The MS. is the work of one scribe, and its contents are :

(a) f. 1r°–f. 108r°—a translation of Geoffrey of Monmouth ascribed to Wace, but the Prophecies of Merlin, which he omitted, are here inserted, between f. 48r° and f. 57v°, by a certain 'Willame,' who appears to be their transcriber rather than their author.

(b) f. 108v°–f. 157v°, col. 1—Gaimar's "Estoire des Engleis."

(c) f. 158r°–f. 189v°—Jordan Fantosme's Chronicle.

The last page is the end of a gathering, but not of the poem, though the catchword still survives to show that the remainder—five lines only according to the Durham version, from which they were supplied, on the present fly-leaf, by F. Michel in 1837—were at one time in the MS. Single leaves have been cut out between ff. 7, 8 ; ff. 79, 80 ; and ff. 129, 130, at some time subsequent to the completion of the MS., possibly to preserve some marginal sketch, of which there are a number in various stages of completion. In the margin of f. 58v° is a rough sketch of a shield, sur-

mounted by a coronetted helmet with panache-crest and mantling, and the same design reappears in the margin of f. 182r° in a similar rough state ; in neither case is the coat of arms on the shield distinct, the only certain feature being a label of three points. In the margin of f. 78v° is a sketch of St. Christopher carrying the Christchild, who bears in his hand an imperial orb ; this same figure reappears in part—sometimes only the head—in the margins of ff. 85v°, 93v°, and 111v°. Both sets seem to be due to the scribe, and, could the coat of arms be identified, would doubtless throw some light on the origin of the MS. The MS. has been at Lincoln at least since the Restoration, to judge by the entry in the late 17th cent. catalogue, where we find mentioned, in a list of books, etc. belonging to Dean Honynwood (1660–82), “The History of severall English Kings in O. French Verse,” the press-mark being given as H. 18, which coincides with that under which the MS. was known early in the last century. There does not appear to be anything to show whence the Dean obtained it, though, presumably, it was not at Lincoln prior to his period of office.¹

3. *R* = *London (British Museum), Royal 13. A. xxi.* ; (ff. 40–150), late 13th cent. ; 2 cols. of 42–48 lines ; initials in red and blue.

The MS. is a composite one made up of three parts, and its contents are :

¹ Possibly the entry ‘Gurney’ in a late hand in the margin of f. 169 may betoken a connection with the well-known East Anglian family of that name ; but, though it would be tempting to suppose that the MS. might at one time have been in the possession of Henry Gurney, who owned a fairly extensive library, in the 16th century, a study of the inventory of his books which figures in his commonplace book in the Bodleian Library (MS. Tanner 175) hardly supports such a conclusion, though the text—as I am informed by Mr. E. G. R. Waters, who kindly examined it for me—appears to refer exclusively to printed books.

INTRODUCTION

Part i. (a), f. 2r°-f. 11v°—Herman de Valenciennes's "Bible," written in 3 cols. of 47 lines and imperfect (vv. 1-2850 only); the original first leaf is missing—half of f. 5 is also torn away—the outer edges are closely shorn, and the article took up originally a gathering of twelve leaves.

Part ii. (b), f. 13v°-f. 39v°—Honorius of Autun's "Imago Mundi," written in 2 cols. with headings in red; the work is evidently attributed to Henry of Huntingdon, as the two prefatory letters are headed in the MS.: *Epistola Henrici ad Henricum*—*Henrico septiformi spiritu in trina fide*; *Rescriptum Henrici*—*Sapiencie alumpno*; at the foot of f. 13v°, col. 2, is the heading: *Liber Henrici qui dicitur Ymago mundi*; the text itself beginning on f. 14r° with the sub-heading: *Liber de creacione et distinccione mundi et liber regnorum*; lib. ii. begins on f. 21r° with the heading: *Incipit secundus*; and lib. iii. without heading on f. 26r°, col. 2; the whole of f. 12 and the recto of f. 13 had been left blank, but f. 12v° and f. 13r° have subsequently been utilised for a rude drawing of a compass.

(c) f. 40v°, col. 2-f. 113v°, col. 1—a translation of Geoffrey of Monmouth attributed to Wace,¹ but without a version of the Prophecies of Merlin; the text finishes on f. 113v°, ten lines from the top of the column; the rubric is as follows: *Ci comence le Brut ke maistre Wice translata de latin en franceis de tus les reis ke furent en Bretaigne deske il perdi sun nun e fust apele Engleterre per la grant destruction ke Daneis firent en la terre*; and in this and the next article there are numerous marginalia due, apparently, to the scribe; the whole of f. 40r° and the first column of

¹ This is, for a matter of some seven thousand lines, an independent version of Geoffrey's History, but there seems to be no indication in the MS. that the scribe was aware of any change in authorship. This version is discussed by Imelmann ("Layamon: Versuch über seine Quellen," cap. ix.) and a connection between it and the lost "Estoire des Bretuns" suggested.

the verso had been left blank, but f. 40r° is occupied by a scheme of the Heptarchy, set out in seven circles ranged about a central one, possibly by the scribe of the MS., or possibly a subsequent addition.

(d) f. 113v°, col. 1—f. 150v°, col. 2—Gaimar's "Estoire des Engleis," following at an interval of one line on the preceding with the rubric: *Ci comence le storie des Engles solum la translacion maistre Geffrei Gaimar*; and finishing two lines down on f. 150v°, col. 2, leaving the remainder blank; three leaves—ff. 115, 116, and 117—have been damaged.

Part iii. (e) f. 151v°—f. 165v°, col. 2—'Liber beati Ieronomi de illustribus viris.'

(f) f. 165v°, col. 2—f. 170r°—'Katalogus Gennadii Massiliensis de illustribus viris,' breaking off at cap. L, line 1.

(g) f. 171v°—f. 172r°—'Cathalogus Isidori Hispalensis episcopi de illustribus viris,' giving the last twelve chapters, numbered here xxii.—xxxiii., only; f. 170v° and f. 171r° are left blank.

(h) f. 172v°—f. 192r°, col. 2—'Liber Cassiodori senatoris de institutionibus divinarum litterarum,' finishing eight lines down the column.

(i) f. 192r°, col. 2—Letter of thanks for the loan of 'illustrium virorum scripta,' with a eulogy of Cassiodorus, the whole containing eighteen lines and beginning: *Fratri M. suus Nicholaus*.

(j) f. 192v°—f. 194r°—'Responsa dom. pape Alexandri ad consulta Senonensis archiepiscopi nuper data,' in a later hand.

There do not seem to be any indications of provenience either of the MS. as a whole or of its component parts, though it appears probable that the scribe of Gaimar was not unacquainted with the Windsor district (*cf. ante* § 5, p. 72); the letter on f. 192 hardly refers to the present MS. pt. iii., but to its 'Vorlage,' from which it has apparently been copied. It is perhaps worth noting that these same four tracts, in the

INTRODUCTION

same order and in one volume, figure in the catalogue of the 'Libraria claustralis Dunelm.' of 1395 (*cf.* Surtees Society, vol. vii., p. 59), and that the "Imago Mundi," at all events, if not the whole of the present pt. ii., was at Hagneby Abbey (Lincs.) in the 15th cent., for f. 14 is inscribed 'Hangeby' in a contemporary hand.

Such being the three MSS. at our disposal, we have now to consider their interrelations. The close agreement in contents and arrangement of D. and L., which becomes even more noticeable when we bear in mind that Gaimar terminates in both with a short, condensed epilogue not found in either of the other MSS., and also with the "Description of Britain"—a versified Anglo-Norman translation of sections of Henry of Huntingdon's chronicle (lib. I., §§ 4, 5, 7) not otherwise found in conjunction with Gaimar's work though portions survive in other MSS.—suggests that these two are more intimately related to each other than the remainder of the MSS. containing the "Estoire." D., being the earliest of them, cannot have been copied from them; neither does L. derive from D., for it preserves lines omitted by the latter, *e.g.* vv. 663-4, and similarly with single words, *e.g.* vv. 175, 221, 249, and has, on several occasions, a more original reading, *e.g.* v. 2277 (in which a mistake has been marked as such in D. but not corrected, whereas L. has the true reading) and v. 706 (where L. has a meaningless reading, deriving, however, from the true one, and D. has an entirely different line). The large number of omissions which D.L. have in common when compared with R., together with the many occasions on which D.L. concur in a reading, whether the correct one or not, as against R., show sufficiently that R. is independent of D.L., and that the latter derive from a common source (=γ, maintaining for convenience Vising's designation) which is not the original MS. of the "Estoire."

Therefore, in effect, we have at our disposal for establish-

ing the text of Gaimar's Haveloc episode two copies : (1) dating from the closing decades of the 12th cent., though probably not even second-hand, represented in matter by γ and in language most closely by D. ; (2) dating from the late 13th cent., again probably not first-hand, and represented by R. In spite of the number of lines omitted by (1), which, however, in the episode are barely a quarter of those wanting in (2) owing to the mutilation of the MS. at ff. 115, 116, 117, and in spite of the fact that, as far as the "Estoire" proper is concerned, there seems to be evidence to suggest that (1) and (2) represent not only different copies, but also different recensions, of Gaimar's work, I base my critical text on the former, which carries us back to an earlier stage, chronologically, in the tradition, and primarily on D., whose language is not greatly different from that of Gaimar as deduced from a study of the rimes of the "Estoire."

As we are concerned here with only a small part of Gaimar's work, it will not be feasible to enter into a detailed discussion of the relationship of the existing MSS. to the original poem, but in view of the changed basis of our text it is necessary briefly to consider the generally accepted affiliation of the MSS. propounded by Vising in his "Etude sur le dialecte anglo-normand du 12. siècle."

In the first place, the omissions common to D. and L. can be divided into two classes : (i.) those shared with H., the latest of the four MSS. containing Gaimar (*cf. infra* § 7) and one which is independent of the others as is shown by the absence of vv. 3293-422, due to the omission of a leaf (or leaves ?) in its 'Vorlage' ; (ii.) those few common to D. and L. only, *e.g.* vv. 1793-6 ; 1837-8 ; 2101-2 ; 2129-30 ; to which may be added a few faulty readings confined to D.L., *e.g.* vv. 2016 ; 2807 ; 2874 ; 3065-6. Therefore γ was copied from an earlier and already faulty MS. (= β of Vising), from which H. is independently derived, but the nature of the omissions in β —mainly due to over-

INTRODUCTION

leaping—makes it probable that the scribe took little interest in his text and so made few or no deliberate alterations in it.

On the other hand, though, as I have shown, the 'prologue' is authentic, and therefore Visings principal justification for a MS. intermediate between β and R. and the original disappears, yet it still seems necessary to postulate its existence because, as Kupferschmidt pointed out, the extant MSS. all derive from one in which Gaimar's "Estoire" follows a "Brut" attributed to Wace, and not the adaptation of Geoffrey of Monmouth made by Gaimar himself. Nevertheless it is conceivable, in view of the great popularity of Wace's work, that the idea of such a combination should have occurred independently to two scribes—the writer of β and the writer of R. (or of his immediate 'Vorlage,' with the existence of which is involved the whole question of the relation of the R. tradition to the A.S. Chronicle)—and this point will hardly be decided with any certainty until a detailed comparison has been made between the 'Bruts' in these four MSS. and Wace's text. It seems to me probable that what actually took place was not so much a substitution, as a whole, of the later for the earlier adaptation of Geoffrey of Monmouth as a conflation of the two, and that it is perhaps in this direction, rather than to the Munich "Brut," that we must look for surviving traces of Gaimar's lost work.¹

Though the nature and existence of this intermediate MS. (= α of Visings) remain very problematical, there are indications which enable us to form a clearer conception of γ and, to a lesser degree, of β . Neither D. nor L. appears to consider Gaimar's "Estoire" as anything more than a con-

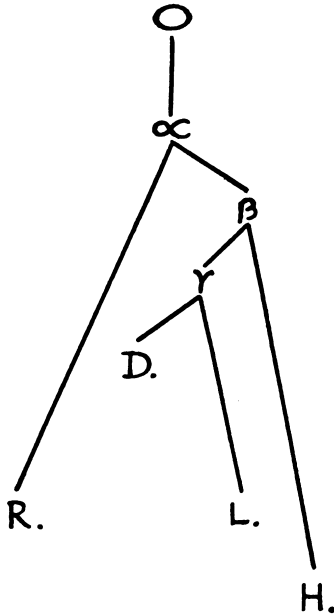
¹ It is because of this uncertainty that I do not, in my description of the MSS., assert categorically Wace's authorship of these 'Bruts.'

tinuation of the first poem in their MSS., which makes it probable that the two were in very close connection in γ . In contrast with this we have the fact that, though the "Description of Britain" and the short epilogue appear in both MSS., their order varies; in D. this epilogue succeeds, in L. it precedes, the "Description," but since the latter appears independently of, and is by no means certainly by, Gaimar, and since the epilogue is obviously a condensed version of an earlier one akin to that preserved in R., it is almost certain that L. in this particular retains the original sequence.¹ The remaining article in the two MSS.—Fantosme's Chronicle—seems to have been recognised as a separate work by both of them; in L. it follows after a blank column, though undue weight should not be laid on this, as f. 157—on which Gaimar's "Estoire" terminates—is the end leaf of a gathering; in D., as we saw, the scribe on reaching f. 136 had not much left to copy and so commenced a half-gathering, using actually the first two leaves of that for the remainder of his work. Hence it seems probable that though Fantosme's work was included in γ , it had only recently been added and was not present in β . Had this been the case, there seems some likelihood, considering its present contents, that it would in due course have found its way into H., though we cannot be certain on this point as the scribe shows some independence in his treatment of his 'Vorlage.'

¹ This conclusion would seem to be reinforced by the appearance of calculation in the change in D; as we saw, the epilogue is actually written by 'hand' iv. but in the space left blank on f. 138v^o by 'hand' iii., who at the commencement of the leaf reckoned up the number of lines left to him to copy, and, accordingly, ruled his usual quota of lines on the recto, *viz.* 2 cols. of 36 lines, and on the verso—having two less lines to copy—divided the page evenly into 2 cols. of 35 lines, so that the last line of the epilogue—though in another hand—occupies the last line of the second column.

INTRODUCTION

In brief, then, it may be said that for the present I accept the affiliation proposed by Vising, and illustrate it thus :



where O. represents the original and the relative positions of the letters designating the MSS. indicate approximately their relative dates. Although further detailed study of the

"Estoire" proper will probably, as I have already briefly indicated, make it necessary to modify the relationship of R. and β to the original, any such change, being determined largely by the degree of adherence to the A.S. Chronicle, will have no practical effect on the constitution of our text, and therefore the discussion of this point hardly falls within the scope of the present limited study.

§ 7. THE MSS. OF THE "LAÏ D'HAVELOC"

The two MSS. in which this poem occurs have been described in the introduction to the edition in the Rolls Series, and the earlier of the two has also been the subject of a notice by Gaston Paris in his edition of the "*Donnei des Amants*" (*Rom.* xxv.). They are as follows :

1. *P* = *Cheltenham (Thirlestane House), Phillipps* 3713 ; late 13th—early 14th cent. ; 2 cols. of 38—39 lines ; initials in red and green.

The MS. is the work of one scribe, and its contents are :

(a) f. 1r°—f. 7v°, col. 1—Le lai d'Haveloc.

(b) f. 7v°, col. 2—f. 12v°, col. 2—Le lai del désiré.

(c) f. 12v°, col. 2—Le lai de Nabaret.

(d) f. 13r°—f. 17r°, col. 1—Raoul de Houdenc's "*Roman des Eles*."

(e) f. 17r°, col. 1—f. 24v°—Le donnei des amants.

When acquired by Sir Thomas Phillipps the MS. was rebound and the two gatherings of which it is composed were then apparently transposed, thus disturbing the original order of the articles, which had been (d), (e), (a), (b), (c).

2. *H* = *London (College of Arms), Arundel* xiv. ; later 14th cent. ; 2 cols. of 40 lines, to f. 149 ; initials in red and blue.

INTRODUCTION

The MS. is a composite one, though the greater part is of approximately the same date, and its contents are :

Part i. (a) f. 11^o-f. 92v^o—a translation of Geoffrey of Monmouth ascribed to Wace.

(b) f. 93r^o-f. 124v^o, col. 2—Gaimar's "*Estoire des Engleis*," following on the preceding without break in foliation or trace of omission, without any distinctive initial, and finishing eight lines down on col. 2, leaving the remainder blank ; the text begins with v. 819 of the "*Estoire*."

(c) f. 125r^o-f. 132r^o—*Le lai d'Haveloc*, following on the preceding without break in foliation and leaving the verso of f. 132—the last leaf of a gathering—blank.

(d) f. 133r^o-f. 147r^o, col. 2—an account of the reign of Edward I., finishing six lines down on col. 2, leaving the remainder of the leaf blank, and written apparently by a different hand to the preceding ; the work is a much revised copy of the third part of Peter de Langtoft's *Chronicle*.

(e) f. 148r^o-f. 149r^o, col. 2—*La lignée des Bretons*, finishing six lines down on col. 2, leaving the remainder of the leaf blank, and in the same hand as the preceding ; the last entry was originally '*Edward fiz Edward*' (= Edward II.), but another hand added the length of his reign, and also, having apparently confused him with Edward III., a complete entry for Richard II.

(f) f. 150r^o-f. 221r^o, col. 2—*Chretien de Troyes*' "*Perceval*," with the continuations by Gauchier de Denain—here called Gautier de Denet—and by Manessier, following on the preceding without break of foliation, leaving f. 221v^o—not the last leaf of a gathering—blank, and written, by a slightly later hand than articles (a)-(e), with only 34 lines to a column.

Part ii. (g) f. 222r^o-f. 229v^o—Walter of Henley's "*Art of Love*," comprising a complete gathering of eight leaves in a decidedly different, and older, hand than the preceding, which has been bound into the final gathering of pt. i.

Part iii. (h) f. 230r^o-f. 238r^o, col. 1—an allegorical love-poem, beginning : *Bien est raison et droiture* ; added by a scribe of the later 15th cent., following on the preceding but utilising in part the blank leaves left over from the final gathering of pt. i., and finishing sixteen lines down on col. 1 ; the poem does not appear to have been edited. Though pt. i. is all of approximately the same date it is hardly uniform in origin ; the nucleus appears to have been formed by (a)-(c) ; to this were added at the same time and, as the similarity of subject suggests, from the same source¹ (d) and (e) ; finally, and a little later, the volume was completed by the addition of the last item (f).

Such are the two MSS. at our disposal, and it now remains to consider their relations to the original MS. of the "Lai" and to each other. That the two are independent has already been indicated (§ 4), but supplementary to the evidence there adduced we may note the following points. In vv. 773-6 it is clear, as reference to the variants will show, that H. preserves the true reading and that the passage is corrupt in P. ; and in a number of lines (*e.g.* vv. 176, 296, 468, 482, 597, 691, 748) the readings of the later cannot be regarded as corrections of the mistakes found in the earlier MS. but must derive from the original. On the other hand, P. preserves many lines (*e.g.* vv. 117-8, 275-6, 615-6, 829-30, 941-2, 973-4, 993-4, 999-1000, 1029-30) which are

¹ The fact that (d) and (e) are by a different hand to the articles preceding them and that their last pages coincide in arrangement tends to confirm the supposition of their being copied from the same MS. It is, perhaps, worth noting that if we assume (e) took up one leaf in that MS., then, as it contains (*approx.*) 206 lines ($=5 \times 40 + 6$) we should have on that leaf 3 cols. of 52 and 1 col. of 50 lines ; further, (d) contains (*approx.*) 2286 lines ($=57 \times 40 + 6$), which would give us 40 cols. of 52 lines ($=10$ leaves of 2 cols.) + 206 lines ($=1$ leaf arranged exactly as (e)), and the two would form a gathering of 12 leaves.

INTRODUCTION

essential to the understanding of the text and are mostly supported by Gaimar's version, and so must be considered as belonging to the original text of the "Lai." Since, then, the older of the two MSS. under consideration (*i.e.* P.) is also closer to the original, it is on that MS. that my critical text of the "Lai" is based.

If we turn to the passage which records the announcement to Sigar of Haveloc's defence in the church tower (vv. 715 ff.) we find a confusion in the readings of the two MSS. which has some bearing on the nature of the MS. from which both derive. The lines, with the numbering of the critical text, are :

	715. La novele vint al chastel	
	Al seneschal ki pas n'est bel	
	717. Ke cil k'il aveit herberge	
P.		H.
E a sa table aveit mange	718. Et a sa table avoit mange (738a)	
	Ensemble od lui ont este (738b)	
Cinc de ses homes ad tues	720. Cinc de ses homes ont tue	
E li sistes est afoles	Et le sistes est afolez	
	722. Et il sen est eschapez	
723. En la tur del muster s'est mis		
E li burgeis l'i unt assis.		

The first point to note is that the two lines, vv. 718-9, do not appear in this position in H., but are inserted, twenty lines later and in an obviously wrong context, between vv. 738 and 739. Secondly, as v. 718 is also found in P., it must have been in the 'Vorlage,' and, as it is here in place, in the position assigned to it in P. Thirdly, v. 722, omitted by P., is essential because the refugee is Haveloc, not the sixth assailant, which is the impression given by P. Fourthly, vv. 717-8 are evidently parallel to vv. 653-4, just as vv. 720-2 repeat in substance vv. 701-3. Therefore the passage must have stood in the original text practically as it is preserved in H. when the two misplaced lines are restored

to their context, but the actual arrangement of the lines in the 'Vorlage' must have presented some uncertainty to the copyists. I surmise that at first v. 716 was followed by a single line riming with the present v. 720, in which the verb was then impersonal; that the writer thought later that the idea of ingratitude was not sufficiently indicated, cancelled the first line of the couplet, and added our present vv. 717-9, thus making the verb in v. 720 personal, but considered the change in construction in vv. 720-21 not sufficiently violent to require alteration. If such alteration were made at the top or bottom of the page in a MS., then a displacement such as we find in H. could easily be explained.

There are a few other instances where we may suspect the occurrence of something similar. In vv. 881-2, which are omitted by P., we seem to have a repetition, in alternative form, of the information conveyed in the previous couplet, which is omitted by H.; that the former couplet was in the MS. from which H. was copied is shown by the addition of two lines in H. to which I shall refer later. In vv. 903-6 we have expressed two ideas which are indicated in Gaimar, and so were in the original text in some form or another, but the four lines do not all appear in either MS.; vv. 903-4 are omitted in P., vv. 905-6 in H. Here we seem to be faced with two alternative versions; one of them the author intended to reject but did not come to a decision in the matter—possibly, as they occur in the latter part of his narrative, because he was prevented from completing his final revision; and vv. 993-4 and vv. 999-1000—both couplets omitted by H.—may perhaps be further evidence of the same state of affairs. If we grant the existence of these alternatives, they must be due to the author of the "Lai," and consequently P. and H. must be copied directly from his original MS.; so far as P. is concerned there does not appear to be anything to invalidate such a conclusion, but a consideration of the position of the "Lai" relative to Gaimar's

INTRODUCTION

"Estoire" in H. is necessary before the possibility of an intermediate stage on this side of the MS. tradition can be excluded.

On turning to the account of Haveloc's father's death at vv. 603-4 we find the readings of the two MSS. are :

P.	H.
Odolf lociit par traisun	Hodulf loccist par traison
Quant sur li vindrent li bretun	Qui tuz jors ont le queor felon

The context seems to require some definition of time, and when I read, at vv. 35-6, 'Odulf l'oscist par traisun Ki tuz jorz ot le quer felun,' I do not doubt but v. 604 in H. is a repetition of v. 36 and the reading of P. correct. Similarly, if we turn to vv. 881-2, to which reference has already been made, we find in H. :

De son tresor fet apporter	(881)
Le corn qe nul ne poet soner	(882)
Si dreit heir nest de lignage	
Sur les Daneis par heritage ;	

and, comparing this passage with vv. 47-50 :

Cil aveit le cor a garder
Ke nuls hom ne poeit soner
Si dreiz eir ne fust de linage
Sur les Daneis par heritage ;

I do not doubt but the additional couplet after v. 882 is a repetition of vv. 49-50 and conclude that vv. 881-2 must have been in the 'Vorlage' of H., as otherwise there would be nothing to bring about the association of ideas which has induced his mistake.

Again, if we turn to vv. 940-4 we find a divergence of reading of a somewhat different nature :

940. Al jor ki fu entrels nomez	
P.	H.
Quant les os furent assemblez	941. Que li dui ost sassembleroient
E de bataille conreiez	Et ensemble se combateroient
943. Aveloc vit la gent menue	
K'en s'aie esteient venue.	

Here the reading of P. is better suited to the context (*cf.* vv. 1035-6 for a parallel in situation and expression), and a glance at a later passage, vv. 1026-30—the last couplet of which is omitted by H.—

A lur seignur unt cunte
Le respuns ke li reis lur fist
E del terme ke cil lur mist
Quant li dui ost s'asemblerieient
E ensemble se cumbatreient ;

suggests that it is from this passage that vv. 941-2 of H. are derived by anticipation.

Though in these instances I have rejected the readings of the later MS., it is clear that we have here to deal, not with ordinary blunders, but with alterations, partly unconscious, partly deliberate : led astray by an association of ideas at the points in question the scribe has commenced to repeat an earlier line and then, finding that this has not unduly affected, but even arguably improved, the meaning of the passage, has left his repetition unaltered. If this be so, the scribe must have read the whole of the "Lai" attentively before copying it out, for it is scarcely likely that any lines would have so impressed themselves on his memory as to give rise to such associations of ideas if he had merely copied mechanically the MS. in front of him, and consideration of another passage seems to lend some support to the conclusion that the scribe of H. took an active interest in the text before him.

If we turn to the account of his childhood given to Haveloc by his foster-sister we find a reference to the changing of his name which appears thus in P. : 'Vostre dreit nun nus changames E Cuaran vus apellames' (vv. 615-6). The couplet is in the same tense as the rest of the account, gives the information required by the context, and is in the same proportion to the other facts related as the corresponding statement (vv. 149-50) in the introductory account of the

INTRODUCTION

flight from Denmark. In H., on the other hand, the couplet is omitted, and in its place we have the following passage :

Ne vout mon piere avant aler
Ici li estoet demorer
Sus cest havene se herberga
Sile vendit et achata
Mult se pena de toi nurrir
Et de celer et de coverir
Poverement estoit vestuz
Qe ne fussez aparceu
Nout si hardi en sa maison
Qui osast dire ton droit non.

There is only one other passage of any extent which is in H. and not in P., *viz.* vv. 331–6, and there the identity of the second half of vv. 330 and 336 is sufficient to explain its omission. Here no such explanation is possible, and only general considerations can help us to decide which represents the original reading. The passage in H. is as metrically correct as the rest of the poem, and there does not appear to be any linguistic reason to prevent its ascription to the author of the “Lai.” Yet, if we compare the three accounts of Grim’s settlement and Haveloc’s childhood, the reference here seems disproportionate and, further, contains statements—in the last four lines—which do not figure in the other two accounts and are scarcely reconcilable with them but appear to be deductions—not altogether warranted—from the introductory account (*cf.* especially vv. 149–50 : ‘Grim li ot fet changer sun nun Ke par tant nel coneust l’um’) coloured by the assumption—of which there is no trace elsewhere in the poem—that Haveloc’s identity was known to more than Grim and his wife.¹ On these grounds I have

¹ Neither in Gaimar nor the “Lai” is it made quite clear when Kelloc became acquainted with Haveloc’s identity; the assumption in both would seem to be that she was not aware of it at the time of the flight, but that the secret was imparted to her after Haveloc’s departure to Edelsi’s court; in Gaimar the disclosure was apparently made by her mother, to judge by the phrase ‘co dist ma mere’ in v. 405.

rejected the passage from my text, though without being sure that P.'s couplet represents in its entirety the author's text ; I think it probable that there was at least another couplet and that the four lines were expanded by H., and for this he would have every motive if he had read the poem through first, since the repetition of this account is most noteworthy.

Thus we see in the text presented by H. two types of variation from that offered by P. : (a) alternative passages due to the author and (b) alterations by anticipation or repetition ; and, if it can be shown that the latter are due to the scribe of H., then the choice of alternatives was probably made by him too, from which it would follow that H. derives directly from the original MS. of the "Lai." Apart from these variations there seems to be nothing in H. pointing to an intermediate stage in the MS. tradition of the "Lai," but, as this same scribe also copied out Gaimar's "Estoire," we should expect to find there traces of the same attitude towards his text. If we do, and if we find no more cogent evidence to the contrary, then we may conclude that the above changes in the "Lai" are actually due to the scribe of the MS. we are considering.

It is generally admitted that the language of the "Estoire" has been modernised to some extent in H., unfamiliar expressions of the original being replaced by those more familiar to a 14th cent. reader, but the changes are not sufficiently regular to compel the assumption that they represent a methodical revision by a single scribe rather than casual alterations of successive copyists : consequently they cannot be expected to throw light on the question at issue. From another side, however, we can, by considering the text of Gaimar in H., form some opinion of the scribe's independence, but, until I have completed the collation of this MS. with the others, it will not be possible for me to put forward any dogmatic statement. Nevertheless, the broad facts I shall adduce exhibit such a striking disproportion that

INTRODUCTION

it is unlikely further study will invalidate the main conclusion, which alone concerns our present problem.

To give more than a succinct statement of results would take us too far afield, and would carry us too far into the detailed textual criticism of the "Estoire," but the following summary is based on a study of vv. 5137-6436 of Gaimar's work, using for D. and L. photographic reproductions, for R. the text of the Rolls Series edition, and for H. the text printed by F. Michel in his "Chroniques Anglo-Normandes."

READINGS	A=vv. 5137-6002	B=vv. 6002-6436
Common to D. and L.	21 (<i>e.g.</i> vv. 5276, 5507)	8 (<i>e.g.</i> vv. 6009, 6134)
D. and H.	4 (<i>e.g.</i> vv. 5160, 5993)	1 (v. 6333)
L. and H.	11 (<i>e.g.</i> vv. 5238, 5629)	36 (<i>e.g.</i> vv. 6047, 6286)
Peculiar to D.	6 (<i>e.g.</i> vv. 5143, 5630)	7 (<i>e.g.</i> vv. 6125, 6404)
L.	40 (<i>e.g.</i> vv. 5263, 5688)	23 (<i>e.g.</i> vv. 6027, 6286)
H.	54 (<i>e.g.</i> vv. 5488, 5950)	1 (vv. 6375-6)

I have used the word 'reading' in its widest sense to include both errors and omissions, and have not discriminated between common readings which must be errors, those which may be survivals of the original, and those which may be coincidences. Such detailed weighing of the variants will naturally find its place in the edition of the "Estoire" which I am preparing. It is worth pointing out,¹ though, that the

¹ At vv. 5471-84 some lines have been omitted and others rewritten in H.; it seemed possible that this might be brought into connection with another omission some hundred lines later (*viz.* vv. 5576-88), but though my investigations on that particular point led to no result they did suggest a probable division in the vicinity of v. 6002, where there is also rewriting in H. As this division appears to be supported by the evidence summarised above and does not clash with other data, I have maintained it for convenience of reference.

readings common to L. and H. in A. more often represent a true than a false reading, whereas in B. the reverse is the case ; further, in the latter section are included the only two omissions—vv. 6289–90 and vv. 6381–2—which L. and H., to the best of my present knowledge, have in common.

Even if we bear in mind that we have been considering only about one-fifth of the text, it is difficult to see how detailed study of the remainder can affect the proportion of readings common to L. and H. before and after v. 6002, and, what is evidently a related phenomenon, the almost complete absence of readings peculiar to H. after that point. If we accept the table given in § 6, we should expect to find—as, in fact, we do—a few readings common to D. and H. in 6000 lines ; since the number of readings common to D. and L. remains fairly constant and H. still retains correct readings omitted by them, γ and β must be maintained in the table ; but the readings common to L. and H. are much in excess of what we have a right to expect under the same conditions. This points to a contact between them in an earlier stage of the MS. tradition which must have taken place after the completion of γ , else why should we find so many more readings common to L. and H. than to D. and H.? The number of readings peculiar to L. remains fairly constant, but there is a startling drop in the number peculiar to H., so that those common to L. and H. must have originated on the L. side of the MS. tradition. This sudden change at v. 6002 suggests an incomplete MS. at some stage, but the fact that L. has the shorter epilogue and the “ Description of Britain ” in common with D. makes it very unlikely that there was an incomplete MS. in its tradition : therefore the one to which the facts set out above point must have been a predecessor of H.

Now, we have seen that H. was copied from a faulty MS., vv. 3193–422 being omitted, and this can only be accounted for on the supposition that a leaf (or leaves ?) was missing

INTRODUCTION

in the 'Vorlage' of H., which leads to the further assumption that each page in that MS. had 2 columns of 28 lines each. On the same basis vv. 6002-6436 would require four leaves, which, if it were a final half-gathering, could easily become detached. Therefore we are probably justified in concluding that this was the immediate 'Vorlage' of H., and that the scribe of the Arundel MS. was responsible for the completion of his text by resorting to a MS. belonging to the L. tradition.¹ Consequently there is no need to postulate an intermediate stage between H. and the original MS. of the "Lai d'Haveloc"; but it will be necessary, as far as the last four hundred lines or so of the "Estoire" are concerned, to modify somewhat the table given in § 6, and also, if possible, to fit into it the MSS. of the "Lai," which, as we saw in § 4, is derived ultimately from an early MS. of Gaimar.

The alternative passages to which reference has been made suggest that the original MS. of the "Lai" had about twenty lines to a column, and this, together with its being a self-contained work, would lead us to suppose that it was introduced into H. from an external source. In any case, the "Lai" was apparently derived from a complete MS. of the "Estoire," for there is some resemblance between the descriptions of the preliminaries of the single combat between Haveloc and Odulf and of that between Canute and Edmund Ironside, especially between Lai vv. 947-50 :

A lui se cumbatist,
 Cors cuntre cors, e s'il venquist,
 La gent a lui tuit se tenissent
 E cum seignur tuit le servissent ;

¹ A MS. in the British Museum—Additional MSS. 32125—contains a portion of the "Description" in a text independent of D. and L. but more closely related to the latter than the former. This might well represent such an intermediate MS., but only collation of the text of the "Brut" contained in it can determine this point satisfactorily.

S'il ne sunt ainz acorded
E la bataille seit ferue
Liquels d'els dous qui l'ait vencie
A lui s'irunt tuz alier
Sil laisserunt sur els regner ;

and also from one which contained the "Description of Britain," to judge by the parallel between

Pus li bailla ses fermetez
E ses chastels e ses citez (Lai, vv. 229-30)

and

E furent saisi des citez
Des chastels e des fermetez (Description, vv. 3-4).

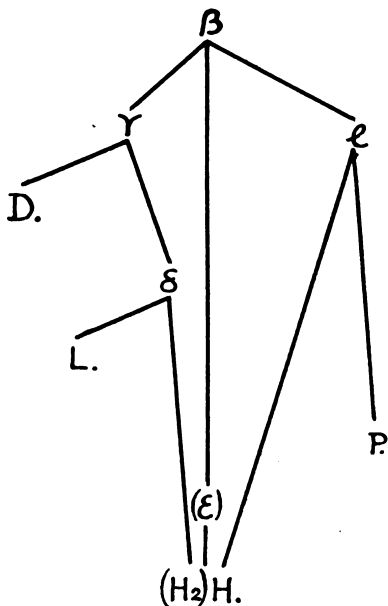
This, in conjunction with the name *Achebrit* for the heroine's father, would point away from the R. side of the tradition, and we shall probably not be far wrong if we assume that β was the MS. used by the author of the "Lai."

Our modified table will then be as shown on opposite page, where l represents the original "Lai," (H_2) = vv. 6002-436 of the "Estoire," and δ and (ϵ) hypothetical intermediate MSS., the existence of the former being fairly certain but that of the latter, at present, somewhat problematical.

§ 8. THE LANGUAGE OF THE "LAÏ D'HAVELOC"

Any presentation of Gaimar's language based solely on the text of the Rolls edition will be found, on further investigation, unreliable in some particular or other, and could only be controlled, or corrected where necessary, by a critical reconstruction of the text, for which the variants recorded in that edition do not always afford adequate

INTRODUCTION



material. Under these circumstances a detailed study of the subject, unaccompanied by a critical text, would involve numerous discussions of isolated lines or passages and thus tend to obscure the point at issue. On the other hand, a study based merely on the Haveloc episode, though not open to this objection, would yet, being necessarily incomplete, be of little value. Thus the most suitable place for a satis-

factory account of Gaimar's language would appear to be a complete edition of his work, not the present limited investigation ; at the same time, it is manifestly impracticable to avoid all reference to the subject, and we shall have occasion to consider some aspects of it, at least, when discussing the constitution of the text of his Haveloc episode.

Though, as we have seen (*v. supra*, §3), the "Lai" is noteworthy for the almost entire absence of dialectal peculiarities, the same cannot be said of the two MSS. in which it is preserved ; in particular P. shows such confusion in its rendering of certain sounds that separate reference to its orthography will be advisable. The language of the scribe in both MSS. being very different from that of the author, deduced from the evidence of the rimes, the linguistic discussion of the "Lai" is inevitably restricted to a consideration of that evidence and of the supplementary evidence of the versification.

PHONOLOGY

Under this head our study will be confined almost entirely to the vowels in tonic position ; the method of presentation is, in the main, that of Menger's "Anglo-Norman Dialect," using the Vulgar Latin sounds as starting-points, and the actual order adheres very closely to that adopted by Prof. Studer in his edition of "Le Mystère d'Adam."

VOWELS. A. (a) Checked *a* remains and calls for no remarks.

(b) *a* before a palatal > *ai*. The rimes are pure with one exception : *mestre* 1094 (: *Colecestre*).

(c) Checked *a* before nasal remains and does not rime with checked *e* before nasal.

INTRODUCTION

(d) Free *a* before *l* remains in the only rime in which the sound occurs, viz. *mal* : *Estal* 43, 4.

(e) Free *a* > *e* riming only with itself, or with the outcome of Latin *erant* at 441, 2.

(f) Free *a* following a palatal > *ie*, which rimes freely with *ie* < open *e*. As noted already (*v. supra*, § 3), the reduction of *ie* to *e* is apparently not unknown to our author, being almost certainly present at 1067, 8, and possibly also at 237, 8 ; 315, 6.

(g) Free *a* following a palatal and before a nasal > *ien* in the only rime in which the sound occurs, viz. *anciens* : *bens* 3, 4.

Close *E*. (a) Checked close *e* does not occur in the rimes.

(b) Checked close *e* (and also open *e*) before nasal remains ; the rimes are all pure.

(c) Free close *e* > *ei*, which rimes only with itself, both when final and before oral and nasal consonants.

Open *E*. (a) Checked open *e* remains, and we have correctly : *est* : *prest* 533, 4.

(b) Open *e* before a palatal > *i* which rimes with *i* < *i*, e.g. *li* (fem) : *dormi* 387, 8, and : *norri* 493, 4 ; *prie* : *die* 517, 8 ; *sis* : *pris* 683, 4 ; *respit* : *dit* 639, 40.

(c) Open *e* before *l* remains and calls for no remarks.

(d) Free open *e* > *ie*, which rimes freely with *ie* < *a* following a palatal.

(e) Free open *e* before nasal > *ien*.

I gives rise to no remarks.

Open *O*. (a) Free open *o* does not occur in the rimes.

(b) Checked open *o* remains, riming only with itself.

(c) Free open *o* before nasal becomes *un* in *um* (< homo) : *nun* 149, 50 ; 795, 6.

(d) Open *o* before a palatal is not found in the rimes.

Close *O*. (a) Free and checked close *o* rime in the ending -*ur*, e.g. *jor* : *sorur* 579, 80.

(b) Close *o* before a palatal is not found in the rimes.

(c) Close *o* (and also checked open *o*) before nasal > *un*, and calls for no further remarks.

U. (a) Free and checked *u* rime only with themselves.

(b) *u* before a palatal > *ui*, which rimes only with itself. ATONIC VOWELS. Though frequently omitted in the MSS., the versification shows that the pretonic vowel in hiatus is invariably syllabic.

The final atonic *e* also retains its syllabic value after both vowels and consonants except in the two lines, viz. 37, 1058; to which reference has been made in § 3.

CONSONANTS. *M*, *N*. When final the two are found riming together, e.g. *meisun* : *nun* 131, 2; *chalderuns* : *plums* 483, 4; but it may be noted that *lʹum* is only found here in rime with *nun*. Final *n* following *r* has been lost, as is shown by the rimes *cor* : *or* (< *aurum*) 885, 6; *seignur* : *jor* 109, 10. The final consonant of the termination of the first person plural is uncertain, as this form only occurs once, in inter-rime, at 967, 8.

L. There is no certain proof of the vocalisation of *l* in our text, though this development is familiar to the scribes of both MSS. Neither is there anything to show definitely that it had remained intact. In *gopil* an *l* was early lost as the result of dissimilation, and the *l'* has undoubtedly disappeared in *fiz* (: *garniz*) 55, 6. Further, *l* and *l'* are found in rime *gopil* : *vil* 469, 70. It is just possible that *alsi* in 201 was read by H. as a proper name and equated with his reduction of *Edelsi*; even so, this would only show the retention of the *l* in the spelling.

T, D. (a) The intervocalic dental has entirely disappeared in our text.

(b) Final 'fixed' dentals remain.

(c) Final 'unfixed' dentals have entirely disappeared. It seems unnecessary to repeat the summary given in our discussion of the date of the text (*v. supra*, § 3), but it is worth pointing out that to this cause is due the rearrange-

INTRODUCTION

ment of v. 797 of Gaimar : ' Rended a la dame sun dreit ' as v. 1083 of the " Lai " : ' A la dame rende sun dreit '— in each case the reading having full MSS. support.

S, Z. The distinction between the two sounds is rigidly maintained in our text. Mutation of *s* before *t* occurs in the rime *rendist* : *Achebrit* 1007, 8 ; such a rime in Gaimar might indicate the retention of the palatal spirant from the Anglo-Saxon, but, as the name in the " Lai " is derived from a written source, the rime must be held to prove mutation of the *s*.

MORPHOLOGY

ARTICLE. The normal regular forms are used, and the only point which calls for remark is the question of the elision of *li*. In our text we have always non-elision in the plural but its usage varies in the singular, thus on the one hand *l'us* 858 and always *l'um*, but on the other *li enfes* passim, *li urs* 471, and *li uns* 702. We have also two clear examples of partitives : ' *Apareilla de ses privez* ' (345) and ' *jo dorai des granz lardez* ' (466).

NOUN AND ADJECTIVE. The two-case declension of the masculine nouns is maintained absolutely, the nominative singular of those with varying stress not taking the analogical *s* as shown by the rimes *ber* 45 (: *mener*), *prestre* 502 (: *estre*), and by the scansion of *peschere* 545 and *sire* 675. *Fiz*, as elsewhere, is here treated as an indeclinable. Only two feminines with varying stress are found in our text ; of these *soer* 592, 594, *sorur* 207, 530, is quite regular, but in *nonain*, used as a nominative in 319, we have the only exception to the observance of the rules of declension, the remaining feminines being quite regular.

The adjective agrees throughout with its noun, those of one

termination—with the exception of the old-established *dolente* 630—not taking the analogical *e* in the feminine, as shown by the rime *vaillant* 209 (: *enfant*) and by the scansion of *grant* 83, *quel* 648 ; twice, however, we find *granz* in the nominative singular in agreement with a feminine noun, *viz.* 225, 289.

PRONOUN—PERSONAL. The usual strong forms are well represented in the rimes, *e.g.* *mei* 168, *tei* 177, *lui* (m.) 386, *li* (f.) 387, 493, *sei* 11, and *els* occur frequently in the body of the line. The pronoun *ele*, as shown by the scansion, has always its full dissyllabic value before a following consonant. The weak forms, together with *en* and *i*, are all found in our text. P. has almost always *li* both as masculine and feminine conjunctively, but prefers *lui* as a masculine disjunctively ; as this distinction appears to hold good for the author I have generalised this usage in my critical text.

PRONOUN—DEMONSTRATIVE AND POSSESSIVE. The former call for few remarks. The neuter *co* occurs as subject, and as object to a verb (261) and to a preposition (161) ; *cist* is only found adjectivally ; *cil*—the fuller forms hardly occur—is found both adjectivally and pronominally. The latter are of much more frequent occurrence, and the weak forms in particular are well represented ; the nom. sing. of those of the singular persons appears to be : *mis*, *tis*, *sis*, but it is uncertain whether the author used the asigmatic forms before a following consonant ; *sa* elides before a following vowel ; the acc. pl. of those of the first two plural persons is *nos*, *vos*. The strong forms present no unusual features, the only point of note being the absence of any form, whether adjectival or pronominal, unaccompanied by an article.

PRONOUN—RELATIVE AND INTERROGATIVE. These give rise to few remarks. Although P. confuses on occasion *ki* and *ke*, they appear to have been distinguished by the author ; in view of his strict maintenance of the two-case declension of nouns I have throughout corrected P. in this particular.

INTRODUCTION

As object after a preposition and as indirect object to a verb we find only *ki*. *Dunt* is used with reference to both persons and things, and *ou* with pronominal value in 163. Noticeable, too, are the genitival *ki* followed by a noun in 589, 599 (*ki fiz il fu—tu es*) ; *as quels* (pl.) 754 ; and the neuter *quei* 480, 501, 516.

PRONOUN—INDEFINITE. As nom. pl. we note *li altre* 919 and *li plusur* 42 (: *pour*), but without the article, apparently, *altres* 34 and *plusurs* 141. Further, *chescuns*—given by both MSS. ; *ambedui* 385 (: *lui*), but *andui* 431 ; *plus* 440, 728, and *le plus* (= *la plupart*) 612.

Though by its origin *alques* belongs here, it is rather as an adverb that it is used in 163, 186—its only occurrence in our text.

ADVERB. Those in *-ment* are all correctly formed, *e.g.* *brefment* 15, *lealment* *passim*, *hastivement* 235, *altrement* 322, *bonement* 507. In a number of instances it is difficult to say whether *fors* is still an adverbial complement to the verb or forms a compound preposition with *de*, *e.g.* ‘*fors del pais s’en volt fuir*’ (v. 91), compared with : ‘*de porter fors nos chalderuns*’ (v. 483) or ‘*jo la menai fors de la terre*’ (v. 803).

VERB—PERSONS. The personal endings do not call for many remarks. In the 1st sing. the analogical *e* and *s* are unknown—*cf.* *di* (: *Grimesbi*) 128, (: *Edelsi*) 195 ; *di* : *afi* 875, 6 ; and *crei* 503 (: *mei*). Again it seems unnecessary to repeat the evidence (v. *supra*, § 3) for the loss of the final dental in the 3rd sing., but we may note the additional proof of its loss afforded by the elision of final *e* in *meine* 177 and *mahaigne* 728. Further, the forms of the 1st and 2nd pl. of the present subjunctive without *i* should be noticed, *viz.* *morum* 967, *celez* 772, *alez* 628.

VERB—MOODS. The 2nd sing. of the imperative has everywhere the etymological form—*cf.* *di* 808 (: *respundi*) and the elision of final *e* in *meine* 656 and *parole* 751. In the plural the only noteworthy form is *savez* 856. The forms of the

subjunctive are throughout correct ; in verbs of the first conjugation we have no analogical *e*—cf. *gart* 11, *conseilt* 518, *prest* 534 (: *est*), and from *aler* we note *alt* 748 (: *asalt*) and *algent* 731. Hiatus *e* is everywhere maintained in the imperfect subjunctive ; from *metre* and *prendre* the MSS. readings seem to point to *mesist* 889 and *presist* 88 as the forms used by the author.

VERB—TENSES. The 3rd sing. of *U* perfects of the first class is found in rime with *sot* (sb.) 257 and with imperfects of the first conjugation at 83, 137, and is distinguished from those of the other classes. Of further interest are : *fis* 766 (: *oscis*), *benesquit* 903, *creï* (: *servi*) 59, (: *enemi*) 1062 ; at 390 we have, apparently,¹ an analogical 's' preterite : *issist* (: *veïst*) ; and at 760 both MSS. agree in reading (*pur*)*sürent*, the hiatus being supported by the scansion. In the imperfect indicative the two series of terminations remain unconfused ; from *estre* we have the etymological form *ert* (and *erent* : *enclinerent* 421, 2) but more frequently the later *esteit* (and *esteie* 811). The future (and conditional) of *faire* has always the full form and, as pointed out in § 3, in no case is a parasitic *e* inserted by the author in the group *VR*, hence *avreït* 166, *devreït* 1. From *doner* we have in the future (conditional) the development *NR* > *R* for the rimes *doreie* : *poreie* 327, 8 and 361, 2, and *doreit* : *poreit* 227, 8, appear to be intentionally rich ; hence we may assume a similar reduction in *merra* 93 (< *mener*). Both MSS. agree in reading *deliverai* 322 as a future. From *estre* we note *erc* (1st person) 482 and *ert* 378.

SYNTAX

Possibly because the phenomena coming under this head do not lend themselves to such convenient classification as

¹ Or is the verb in the subjunctive by attraction ?

INTRODUCTION

those already dealt with, syntactical problems have not hitherto figured very largely in the linguistic investigation of Old French texts, though they are attracting more attention. Consequently a uniform method of presentation has not been evolved to the same extent as for the other two branches ; but, since syntactical relations are still shown in Old French largely by means of inflexions, it will be convenient first to discuss the parts of speech as far as possible in the same order as that pursued in the study of their morphology, and then to pass on to the larger question of word-order and sentence-syntax. Thus the sequence adopted is, broadly speaking, that employed by Prof. Foulet in his excellent "*Petite syntaxe de l'ancien français*," from which I have derived great help in the compilation of these notes.

ARTICLE. The article is omitted before nouns used in a general sense, *e.g.* 28, 46, 247-8 ; and before abstract nouns, *e.g.* 35, 41. It is used instead of the possessive adjective in reference to parts of the body, *e.g.* 703, though not to the exclusion of the latter, *e.g.* 455. Further, in certain expressions, chiefly referring to time, it still retains demonstrative force, *e.g.* 110, 384, 823-4.

NOUN. The oblique case of personal nouns may be used as indirect object without a preceding preposition, *e.g.* 38, 493-5, 892 ; and is frequent as a complement of time, *e.g.* *totes les ores* 71, *tote sa vie* 320, *tut dis* 60, *tote nuit* 1063, *un jor* 167, *l'autre jor* 354, *l'altrer* 621, *soventes feiz* 830. It is also found in apposition as a genitive :

(a) with proper nouns, without determinant, *e.g.* 'par le conseil Sigar Estal' 44 ; 'a la meisun rei Edelsi' 798 ; 'pur amur Deu' 504 ; 'la sorur Edelsi' 207 ;

(b) with nouns referring to persons previously mentioned, always with determinant, *e.g.* 'le fiz le rei' 86 ; 'un des keus le rei' 243 ; 'de la buche sun seigneur' 514 ; 'en la curt le rei' 811. When the person is not definite, or has not been previously mentioned, the construction with *a* is used,

e.g. 'ki fiz a rei esteit' 585 ; 'en la curt a un riche rei' 178 ; 'la curt al seneschal' 649 ; but the modern construction¹ with *de* is found in v. 1006 : 'Par le conseil de ses Daneis' ; and similarly at 226 and 1087.

ADJECTIVE AND PARTICIPLE. The only point in connection with the adjective and present participle calling for remark is that the superlative is always found with the definite article, e.g. 'al plus fort home' (*passim*). The agreement of the past participle (*v. supra*, § 3) is rigorously carried out. Thus we have in the feminine with *Être*, agreement ; with *Avoir*, both when the object precedes and when it follows, agreement. In the masculine we have with *Être*, both with singular and plural subjects, agreement except in one instance, *viz.* 352 ; with *Avoir* there is no clear example with a succeeding object, otherwise always agreement except in two instances, *viz.* 720, 1018. Further, we have the past participle referring to the neuter *co* and consequently uninflected at 378 and, on two occasions, agreement with a reflexive, *viz.* 902, 1088.

PRONOUN—PERSONAL. The optional omission of the subject-pronoun in Old French means that emphasis may be secured by their simple insertion, and of this device we have good instances for *jo* 466, 599 ; *tu* 172, 592 ; *il* (sing.) 500, 545 ; *vus* 898. Since, too, they are fully stressed, they may be used disjunctively where Mod. French has to employ fuller, and originally object, forms ; as examples we have *il meismes* 103, *il sul* 282, and, even more emphatically, *il* 269, 387, 712 ; further, *tu* 528.

The syntax of the object-pronouns is more varied, and the usage with regard to the strong and weak forms deserves attention. The former are found :

¹ v. 94 : 'pur la dute del felun rei' does not come under this head for the sense is that they (*sc.* Grim and party) were afraid of the wicked king.

INTRODUCTION

(a) after prepositions, *e.g.* *devant mei* 762 ; *od tei* 177 ; *de lui* 386 ; *od li* 493 ; *a sei* 29 ; *sur els* 85 ;

(b) when a finite verb governs a compound object, which may precede the verb, *e.g.* '*e vus e mei het il*' 550, also 598, 764 ; or follow it, *e.g.* '*ki maintenist els e l'onur*' 312, also 802 ;

(c) with an infinitive after a preposition, *e.g.* '*pur li aviler*' 383 ; '*pur tei garir*' 608 ; and similarly with a gerund, *e.g.* '*sur mei defendant*' 766 ; at 87 : '*a els defendre*' we have *els* used reflexively, as is common in Old French, and this construction is probably responsible for 189 : '*de lui le fet partir*,' where *lui* is reflexive ;

(d) in certain locutions, usually in rime as here : '*co peise mei*' 488 ;

(e) when, as a result of ellipsis or of inversion, the weak object-pronoun would come at the beginning of a phrase or of a sentence, Old French prefers to place the pronoun after the verb and to use the strong forms for the first and second persons of the singular and for the reflexive ; of this usage we have an example at 960 : '*requerent sei*.' With a compound tense the object-pronoun appears between the participle and the auxiliary, *e.g.* '*Dite vus ai*' 477 ; '*Cunté li ad*' 453 ; as opposed to the ordinary sequence in 496 : '*a ben li turnée a*.' Our author displays no repugnance to beginning a line with a weak object-pronoun, provided such is not the first word in the phrase, *e.g.* 258, 276, 384—in each case the second line of a couplet—and 579, 623, where, although a first line, the couplet continues a phrase already commenced.

When two object-pronouns should stand before a verb, the following rules are observed : if they are of different persons, both are expressed and the direct object comes first, *e.g.* '*pas nel me celez*' 772 ; '*la me dona*' 579 ; '*si jol te di*' 596 ; '*jol vus di*' 873 ; '*la vus dirai*' 15 ; if they

are both of the third person, the direct object is, in our text, always omitted, *e.g.* 453, 507, 671, 700, 1011.

When an imperative opens a sentence, the object-pronoun follows and, if of the first or second person of the singular, generally assumes the strong form ; only very few examples of this construction occur in our text and the author's usage in the matter of strong forms is uncertain, for we have on the one hand 'dites mei' 771, but on the other 'va t'en' 175. In other positions the weak forms are used with the imperative, *e.g.* 'te fai amer' 182 ; 'or m'escutez' 351 ; 'l'acheisun me di' 752 ; and, with the pronoun at the beginning of a line though in continuation of a phrase (*cf. supra*), at 178-9 : 'en la curt . . . Te met suz les servanz.'

When a pronoun is the object of an infinitive which is itself complemental to a finite verb, the weak form is used and precedes the finite verb, *e.g.* as direct object, 'la voil doner' 330, also 474, 623, 953 ; as indirect object, 'lur voil mustrer' 335, also 19, 761 ; as reflexive object, 'ne se poent a lui tenir' 369.

Closely related to this construction is that in which the pronoun is at once the object of the finite and the subject of the infinite verb. Here, too, Old French prefers to place the pronoun before the former, *e.g.* 'le fist jurer' 219, also 419, 511, and, reflexively, 182, 624 ; the only exception is when the finite verb is in the imperative affirmative and commences a phrase, in which case the pronoun follows the finite verb, *e.g.* 316. When the infinitive has itself a direct object, the pronoun, if of the third person, assumes the form of the indirect object, *e.g.* 'Grim li ot fet changer sun nun' 149—a change which is masked in the other persons by the identity of form ; *cf.* 'un serement me fist jurer' 325.

Finally, we may note that with some verbs the reflexive pronoun may be unexpressed ; this frequently occurs with

INTRODUCTION

lever, e.g. 687, 704, 732, 964, and is found with other verbs, e.g. 'si ben aider' 734; 'endormiz est' 834; il sunt a lui tuit comandé' 969.

PRONOUN—RELATIVE. When two relative clauses having the same subject are joined by the conjunction *e*, the pronoun is usually omitted in the second, e.g. 'Sigar Estal Ki prodrom fu e riches ber E ben saveit guere mener' 44-6, the only exception to this in our text being at 847-8: 'tuz cels ki el pais maneient E ki le rei Odulf haeient.' One other instance of the suppression of the relative is in 43: 'tels i ot li quistrent mal'; but this is a common feature in Old French.

Of greater interest is the question of the demonstrative and co-relative *co* which is found in both uses in our text. As the former it is employed:

(i.) to refer to a previous statement, e.g. 'a mun quistrun la voil doner Ki forz est e de grant vertu: Co sevent cil ki l'unt veu' (336-8);

(ii.) to refer to a subsequent statement in direct speech, e.g. 'co li dient si conseiller: Or fetes la loinz enveier' (315-6);

(iii.) to summarise a compound subject, e.g. 'vilainies e mesprisuns: Co devreit estre li sermuns' (7-8); this is the only example;

(iv.) to refer in interjectory remarks to statements, made or to follow, e.g. 'Seburc, co qui, ad nun ma mere' (546).

As the co-relative it may be followed immediately by *ke*, e.g. 'co ke sungas De tun mari, tut le verras' (523-4), or be separated from it by a clause, e.g. 'pur co vus ai mandez Ke Deus nus ad revisitez' (911-2). It is also found after *dire* and *savoir* in indirect questions, e.g. 'ben vus dirai quei co serra' (480), but is omitted, where it would be necessary in Mod. French, after *enseigner* and *oïr*, e.g. 'sa gent enseigne k'il ferunt' (1047) and 'li reis oï ke cil diseient' (297).

The only other co-relative found in our text is in 817: 'pur poi k'il nel ad conëu.'

VERB—GENERAL. The apparently inconsequential use of forms belonging to sing. and pl. in addressing one person is not a marked feature of our text. Indeed the author appears to have discriminated carefully between them, and so I have refrained, in view of the agreement of the MSS., from introducing the pl. form into one metrically faulty line, *viz.* 504. On the other hand, I have rejected the pl., given by both MSS., in another line, *viz.* 186, in favour of the singular in order to preserve this distinction ; and, as pointed out in the discussion of the MSS. relations (*v. supra*, § 7) vv. 615-6, where pl. forms occur in a context of sing. forms, may possibly not be due to the author. There remains only one passage (vv. 617-34) in which the two forms are undoubtedly used side by side, but closer study shows that even here the choice is possibly intentional, the sing. being used with reference to Haveloc as an individual (*e.g.* vv. 617, 623, 629-30) and the pl. when he and his party are intended (*e.g.* vv. 618-20, 632-4).

Here, as elsewhere, we find the collective noun *gent* followed by the verb in the pl., *e.g.* 944, but the most noteworthy feature is a construction, involving two subjects with ellipsis of the second verb, of which we have the following examples :

Li reis meismes fu oscis E plusurs altres del pais (vv. 33-4)
 Pus ke li reis Gunters fu morz E si barun e sis efforz (vv. 79-80)
 La reine grant pour ot E li prodom ki la gardot (vv. 83-4)
 Mes li prodom esteit finiz E la dame kis ot norriz (vv. 561-2)
 Li esquier sunt li gopil E li garcun ki plus sunt vil (vv. 469-70).

Although in the last example the first member of the phrase is plural, the sentence is clearly parallel syntactically to the first four, and they all differ somewhat from the common construction with a compound subject, in which the verb agrees with the nearer member, *e.g.* *Conon de Bethune* vi., 1-3 : 'Se raige et derverie Et destrece d'amer M'a fait

dire folie' ; *Aucassin et Nicolette* vi., 2 : ' Li cris et le noise ala par tote la terre ' ; *Courtois d'Arras* 151-2 : ' Se cil bel dent et cele bouche A no hanap adese et touche ' ; and also they differ from the construction in which the subject is repeated by a pronoun as the first term of a subsequent enumeration, e.g. *Couronnement de Louis* 304-6 : ' Li reis Guaifiers i est emprisonnez, Il et sa fille, sa feme as granz beltez Et trente mile de chaitis encombrez ' ; *Prise de Cordres* 884-5 : ' Or a Bertranz la pucelle plevie, Il et Guillelmes et Hernalz li nobiles.'

The construction to which attention has just been called seems to be in common use in Old French—cf. *Roland* 3777 : ' Carles l'oït e si noble barun ' ; *Gaimar* 604 : ' Il me load e sa muillier ' ; *Aucassin et Nicolette* viii., 5 : ' Et li cris lieve et le noise ' ; *Bérout*, "Tristran," 1494-5 : ' Li rois le voit Et li autre qui apres vont ' ; *Prise de Cordres* 999-1000 : ' L'aumacors ist de la mahomerie Et li barnages de la gent sarrazine ' ; and appears to be present, though masked by the inversion of verb and subject, in other instances, e.g. *Roland* 636 : ' Kar mult vus preiset mis sire e tuit si hume ' ; *Gaimar* 467 : ' Dist Haveloc e sa muillier ' ; *Bérout*, "Tristran," 860 : ' Live la noise e li bruit ' ; and, parallel to our fifth instance in having the first subject in the plural, *Le vair palefroi* 77-9 : ' Adonc estoient li boschage Dedenz Champaingne plus sauvage Et li pais que or ne soit ' ; *Del tumber N. Dame* 415-7 : ' Avoec li estoient li angle Del ciel amont et li arcangle Qui entor le menestrel vienent.' In itself the construction is generally perfectly clear, agreeing with a natural habit of speech, and it would consequently be surprising to find it restricted to one language only. Thus it is not uncommon in Anglo-Saxon, e.g. *A.S. Chr. s.a.* 455 (A) : ' æfter tham Hengest feng to rice]Æsc his sunu ' ; *s.a.* 755 (A) : ' Her Cynewulf benam Sigebryhte his rice]West Sexana witan ' ; *s.a.* 800 (A) : ' Her Beorhtric cyning forthferde]Worr aldormon ' ;

s.a. 853 (A): 'Her bæd Burgred Miercna cyning]his wiotan.' The list could doubtless easily be extended by reference to other languages; but, as the question of borrowing hardly enters into the discussion, nothing is to be gained by adducing further examples. An indication of a later scribe's unfamiliarity with the construction is, perhaps, to be seen in Gaimar, where three of the MSS., viz. D.L.H., agree in reading: 'Oswin ne fud reis que set anz Idunc murut e Aidanz Uns evesques pruz e vaillanz Crestiented bien maintenanz' (vv. 1317-20); but the remaining MS., viz. R. (later xiii. cent.), substitutes for the last line the metrically faulty: 'fust apres lui translatanz'; and in vv. 1815-7: 'Kenewulf desheritad Sibriect; sun cusin dechacad E les baruns de la cuntree'; Gaimar himself is not entirely free from a certain amount of confusion, and this has obscured the construction (cf. A.S. Chr. s.a. 755 *ut supra*), which, be it noted, he uses elsewhere (e.g. 2389-90) independently of the text of his source, the Chronicle.

VERB—MOODS AND TENSES. The syntax of the moods calls for few comments; we find no instances of the Imperative with expressed subject, neither do we meet with the Infinitive used in its stead in exhortation or prohibition. The Subjunctive in dependent clauses is more suitably discussed with the conjunctions which govern it, and there is little to say of its employment in main clauses. It is to be found as an imperative of the 3rd person, e.g. 'nonain seit en une abeie Si serve Deu tote sa vie' (319-20); and as an optative, e.g. 'Deus del ciel vertu te prest' (534); and is sometimes used in conditional sentences (i.) where the condition is expressed, e.g. 'od ses Daneis s'en fust alez' (1057); (ii.) where the condition is unexpressed, e.g. 'od els l'eussent en menee' (695).

Only the tenses of the past need detain our attention. In a few cases Old French does not seem to have made a definite choice between Imperfect and Past Definite, and

this indecision is still marked in our text when the durable qualities of a person are in question (*cf.* 25-6 : 'Gunter ot nun si fu Daneis La terre tint si esteit reis') with a preference for the Past Definite. After temporal conjunctions only the Past Anterior is found in our text, but in other connections the Pluperfect is the only tense used, *e.g.* 'la buche sun seignur Dunt ele aveit le feu veu' (514-5). Most noteworthy, however, is the use of the Past Indefinite, which is of very frequent occurrence in the "Lai." In the strictly narrative parts it is the equivalent of the Past Definite, and there does not appear to be one instance in which it is possible to say absolutely it must be a Perfect and not just a simple Past. In the other parts the position is exactly reversed : everywhere in direct speech the Past Indefinite is used as a Perfect. The same is true of the indirect speech in vv. 720 ff., 840, 980, 1082, and, in what is apparently the only exception to this conversational use, *viz.* v. 1041, it is equivalent to a Present rather than to a Past Definite. This distinction is in full accord with that established by M. Foulet (*op. cit.*, §§ 242 ff.).

VERB—NEGATION. Though, as is usual in Old French, the particle *ne* has full negative value in our text, yet nearly half the constructions involving negation show it strengthened by one or other of the commonly occurring complements ; *ne* is found with *nul* (9 times), with *pas* (6), with *mes* (4), with *onques* (4), with *guesres* (3), with *rien* (3), with *mie* (2), with *ja* (1), with *puis* (1) ; or, in all, 33 times with, as opposed to 41 times without, a complement.

Of these a few call for further notice. *Nul*, which is used both as a pronoun and as an adjective, is found with decided positive value, *e.g.* 'si nuls d'els li mesdiseit' (270) ; and this is also the case with *rien*, *e.g.* 'sur tote ren li comanda' (61). *Guesres* is found both alone, *e.g.* 'li enfes n'esteit guesres granz' (69), and followed by *de*, *e.g.* 'pus n'i ot guesres de respit' (640). The comparative frequency

of *pas* and the entire absence of *point* are also of interest. ADVERB. The adverb *i* is frequent in its pronominal use, though not with reference to persons, but *ou* is only once found as a relative, *viz.* 162-4 : 'entre tel gent Ou il peust alques entendre Afetement e sens aprendre.' Otherwise the syntax of the adverb in our text is largely that of *si*, which is found with its full value (A) within the phrase (i.) to strengthen an adjective, *e.g.* 'si grant chalur' (74); (ii.) to strengthen an adverb, *e.g.* 'si durement' (444); (iii.) to strengthen *cum*, *e.g.* 'si cum il sot' (137); and (B) at the point of contact of two phrases (i.) with causal value, *e.g.* 'tu es mult forz . . . Si poras ben grant fes porter' (180-1); (ii.) with special emphasis, *e.g.* "'Alum prendre conge al rei" Si firent il' (556-7). More usually *si* is simply weakened until it becomes merely a synonym for *et*, and the two may even appear together; it is more frequent at the point of contact of two principal clauses, *e.g.* 'Gunter ot nun si fu Daneis' (25); but occurs occasionally with subordinate clauses, *e.g.* 'li quert e prie K'il la conseilte e si li die Sun avis' (517-18).

CONJUNCTION—CO-ORDINATING. There is one example of the omission of the negative particle after the conjunction *ne*, *viz.* 70, but none of the use of causal *que* instead of *car*. Otherwise the only feature of interest is the use of *mes* followed by an emphatic pronoun to modify a previous statement in the direction of indicating short-coming, *e.g.* 'cil de la nef se defendirent Mes il aveient poi d'efforz' (114-5), where the real force of the conjunction would best be expressed by the translation: 'only, unfortunately, they had few men'; or in vv. 195-202, where, after describing Edelsi's kingdom, the author adds: 'mes il esteit Brez par linage'—with the implication that this nationality detracts in some measure from his worth.

CONJUNCTION—SUBORDINATING. When two clauses dependent on the same conjunction are themselves joined by *et*,

INTRODUCTION

the problem which thus arises is solved in three ways. If the subject of the two clauses is the same, it is not considered necessary to repeat the conjunction, *e.g.* 221-2, 1029-30 ; though it may be repeated, *e.g.* 669-70. If the subjects are different, then the conjunction is either repeated, *e.g.* 957-8 ; or replaced by *que*, *e.g.* 777-8. Apart from these cases there are only three instances in our text of the omission of the conjunction *que*. This is clearly shown in the following summary, which also serves to supplement the notes on the syntax of the subjunctive mood by indicating when it is used in these dependent clauses :

TYPE OF CLAUSE	EXAMPLES	MOOD EMPLOYED	<i>Que</i> OMITTED
A. Noun-clause after verbs denoting :			
(i.) intellectual activity.	166, 376, 508.	Indicative (and Conditional).	357.
(ii.) emotional activity.	85, 736, 858.	Subjunctive.	
(iii.) volitional activity.	293, 518, 985.	Subjunctive.	
(iv.) impersonal activity.	765.	Indicative.	371.
B. Adverb-clause :			
(i.) Consecutive.	125, 438, 906.	Indicative, except 156, 186, 536, where the Subjunctive is dependent on that in main clause, and 223, where the Subjunctive has the value of the Conditional.	73, but it is not certain that this clause is a dependent one ; it may be, though I think not, parallel to 74.
(ii.) Final.	150, 1112.	Subjunctive.	
(iii.) Temporal.	79, 395, 1050.	Indicative, except after <i>sinz</i> <i>ke</i> .	
(iv.) Causal.	352.	Indicative.	

THE SENTENCE. Though our author exhibits no striking peculiarities in the construction of his sentences but conforms very closely to the general usage of his time, yet there are a few particulars worthy of notice. If we remember that the three terms of the average sentence—subject, verb, and complement—give rise in Old French to six constructions, of all of which examples may be found, and consider the order in which they are usually employed by the author of the “Lai,” we find an undoubted preference—except in relative clauses of which the pronoun is the subject—for what is now the normal construction, *viz.* with the three terms in the order : subject, verb, complement. Even in Old French two of the six constructions are not in common use—the orders : complement, subject, verb ; and : verb, complement, subject—but of each a single example is found in our text, *e.g.* ‘vostre dreit nun nus changames’ (615), a line of doubtful authenticity, and ‘si ot nun li fiz le rei’ (815). Further, the construction : verb, subject, complement, hardly occurs—apart from interrogations—so frequently in the “Lai” as in other texts of the period. Occasionally a more modern turn is found, *e.g.* ‘L’aventure d’un riche rei . . . Assez brefment la vus dirai’ (11-15), where the object is repeated as a personal pronoun.

One of the cardinal rules of Old French syntax is that the presence of a complement of any kind at the head of a clause, or of a sentence, brings about the inversion of the subject and the verb and the frequent omission of the former. In our text, whenever the complement is a direct or an indirect object, an adverb or an adverbial locution, inversion is the rule, there being altogether five examples of non-inversion, *viz.* 147, 431, 599, 615, 890 ; but after an adverbial clause, contrary to the usage of some of his contemporaries, our author most decidedly prefers to let the subject precede the verb, there being only two examples of inversion, *viz.* 129, 154. As is to be expected, we find no inversion after the

INTRODUCTION

conjunctions, the negative particle, nor the relative as direct object ; we may note that the subject is usually omitted in negations, and that in dependent clauses our author evinces a distinct tendency to let the subject, whether noun or pronoun, follow immediately on the relative or on the conjunction. Only in one case does he show any partiality for the older construction in dependent clauses—subject, complement, verb—and that is where the relative pronoun is the subject of the clause. Finally, though we find in the “Lai” a number of long complex sentences, *e.g.* 61–8, 291–6, yet the construction is usually quite clear and the sentences, as a whole, are linked together without too frequent recourse to the copula.

§ 9. THE VERSIFICATION OF THE “LAI D’HAVELOC”

Though the absence of a critical edition of the “*Estoire des Engleis*” opposes some obstacles to a detailed study of Gaimar’s versification, his Haveloc episode is still sufficiently representative of his practice to make comparison between our two texts possible and profitable. Hence, in the following investigation—the arrangement of which derives in part from Prof. Studer’s “Adam” and in part from Prof. Baker’s “St. Osith”—Gaimar figures more prominently than in the linguistic discussion (*v. supra*, § 8).

THE COUPLET

Reference has already been made to the non-observance of the rule of the couplet both by Gaimar (*v. supra*, § 2) and by the author of the “Lai” (*v. supra*, § 3), but a comparison

of their attitude to it will show how far the latter has travelled towards complete emancipation from that rule. So long as short sentences were customary, it was not difficult for a writer to express himself within the limits of a couplet, and, so long as the asyndetic junction of sentences was possible, it was not unusual to have a series of single-line sentences joined in pairs by the rime. Inevitably, however, with the growth of the use of conjunctions, such sentence-pairs became single sentences extending over a couplet, and this is very largely the explanation of the difference between our two texts shown by the following figures :

Single lines in pairs, G. 30 (22), L. 14 ; single couplets, G. 94 (69), L. 115—where the ratio between the two has sunk from $\frac{1}{2}$ (approx.) in Gaimar to $\frac{1}{3}$ (approx.) in the "Lai."¹ On the other hand, it is only by breaking away from the strict rule of the couplet that it is possible to have isolated single lines, and the earliest tentatives in this direction probably did not go further than an overflow into the next couplet with a return to the strict arrangement at the end of the fourth line. Such overflows might take place in two ways. Just as a sentence was extended over the two lines of a couplet, so it might be extended over two couplets, with a pause at the end of the first corresponding to that at the end of the first line of a couplet. More irregularly the pause in sense might occur in the middle of either couplet, leaving an isolated single line at the beginning or the end of the couplet-pair. Later, when the feeling for the couplet had weakened, such four-line groups would no longer seem

¹ Since the two texts are unequal in length (G.=816, L.=1112 lines) I have multiplied the figures obtained for Gaimar by $11/8$, disregarding fractions, to show at a glance whether there has been an increase or a decrease in the use of the same construction in the "Lai." The figures in brackets are those actually counted in Gaimar ; both sets have only a comparative value, as they are based on the punctuation adopted in the critical texts.

INTRODUCTION

so necessary and verse-paragraphs begin to develop. Though Gaimar has already broken away from the strict rule, he is, in his Haveloc episode, at an earlier stage in the development sketched above than the author of the "Lai," as the following figures show :

Couplets in pairs, G. 102 (74), L. 84 ; other 4-line groups, G. 23 (17), L. 19 ;

Isolated single lines, G. 25 (18), L. 29 ;

Overflowing couplets, G. 54 (39), L. 74, composed of couplets enjambants, G. 24 (17), L. 31 ; couplets brisés, G. 30 (22), L. 43.

Nevertheless, in spite of these infringements, there are no striking cases of enjambement in the "Lai," nor, for that matter, in Gaimar's Haveloc episode, though in the main portion of his work he does not shrink from so unusual a division as the following :

Dunc firent li Daneis qu'enfant
Ceolwulf livrerent Mercenelant (vv. 3061-2).

THE LINE

Both our texts being written in octosyllabic riming couplets, the question of their regularity arises. In his "Étude sur le dialecte anglo-normand" Vising was not disposed to favour Gaimar's claim to be included among the 'correct' writers of his period, but in his later "Étude sur la versification anglo-normande" he modified this view, attributing many of the alleged irregularities to the copyists and editors rather than to the author (*op. cit.*, p. 73). The present attitude seems to be summed up by the remark in his little manual, "Anglo-Norman Language and Litera-

ture": "From the middle of the twelfth century the pronunciation of atonic *e* and the rules of elision and hiatus begin to be uncertain. The consequence is that many verses may be considered as 'correct' from an Anglo-Norman point of view, though in French they are irregular. Geoffrey Gaimar is the first author whose verses are marked by such irregularities" (p. 79). On the contrary, the general correctness of the language and the absence of any pronounced dialectal features have led to the "Lai" being included among the 'correct' poems, and it is therefore somewhat of a surprise to find more incorrect lines in it than in Gaimar's Haveloc episode.

Nevertheless, when we find in Gaimar 90 per cent. and in the "Lai" 87 per cent. of the lines absolutely correct according to continental standards, or, if those lines containing diæresis or hiatus be included, 97 per cent. and 95 per cent. respectively, then we are justified in saying that both are written in correct octosyllabics and in seeking to emend the few remaining lines accordingly; such emendations are in practice generally defensible on other grounds as well in both our texts. A few intractable lines will still remain, which must be allowed to subsist; they are more numerous in the "Lai," but for this the MS. tradition is doubtless in part responsible.

The staple line of both texts is illustrated by

1a Gun | ter | ot | nun | si | fu | Da | neis | L. 25

with masculine ending (419 instances in G., +5 without cesural pause; 469 in L., +9);

1b A | pren | dre | sens | e | a | veir | que | re L. 176

with feminine ending (96 in G., +2; 113 in L., +1); the main stress being on 4 and 8. Frequently there is secondary stress on 2 and 6, which imparts an iambic rhythm to the

INTRODUCTION

line, this being rather more noticeable in Gaimar than in the "Lai." In addition, the majority of the lines in (1) have a more or less marked pause after 4, which divides the line into equal hemistichs. Modifications of this 4+4 grouping are illustrated by

(2) $\begin{array}{c} 1 \\ \text{Sur} \end{array} \mid \begin{array}{c} 2 \\ \text{la} \end{array} \mid \begin{array}{c} 3 \\ \text{ma} \end{array} \mid \begin{array}{c} 4 \\ \text{ri} \end{array} \mid \begin{array}{c} 5 \\ \text{ne e} \end{array} \mid \begin{array}{c} 6 \\ \text{fort} \end{array} \mid \begin{array}{c} 7 \\ \text{e} \end{array} \mid \begin{array}{c} 8 \\ \text{bel} \end{array} \mid \text{L. 54}$

where 4 is followed by an elided unstressed syllable (30 in G. ; 31 in L.) ;

(3) $\begin{array}{c} 1 \\ \text{L'a} \end{array} \mid \begin{array}{c} 2 \\ \text{ven} \end{array} \mid \begin{array}{c} 3 \\ \text{tu} \end{array} \mid \begin{array}{c} 4 \\ \text{re} \end{array} \mid \begin{array}{c} 5 \\ \text{d'un} \end{array} \mid \begin{array}{c} 6 \\ \text{ri} \end{array} \mid \begin{array}{c} 7 \\ \text{che} \end{array} \mid \begin{array}{c} 8 \\ \text{rei} \end{array} \mid \text{L. 12}$

where 4 is an unstressed syllable (75 in G. ; 126 in L.) ;

(4) $\begin{array}{c} 1 \\ \text{To} \end{array} \mid \begin{array}{c} 2 \\ \text{tes} \end{array} \mid \begin{array}{c} 3 \\ \text{les} \end{array} \mid \begin{array}{c} 4 \\ \text{o} \end{array} \mid \begin{array}{c} 5 \\ \text{res} \end{array} \mid \begin{array}{c} 6 \\ \text{k'il} \end{array} \mid \begin{array}{c} 7 \\ \text{dor} \end{array} \mid \begin{array}{c} 8 \\ \text{meit} \end{array} \mid \text{L. 71}$

where 4 is not final, being followed by an unelided unstressed syllable (83 in G. ; 158 in L.) ;

(5) $\begin{array}{c} 1 \\ \text{Qu'en} \end{array} \mid \begin{array}{c} 2 \\ \text{Da} \end{array} \mid \begin{array}{c} 3 \\ \text{ne} \end{array} \mid \begin{array}{c} 4 \\ \text{mar} \end{array} \mid \begin{array}{c} - \\ \text{che} \end{array} \mid \begin{array}{c} 5 \\ \text{sunt} \end{array} \mid \begin{array}{c} 6 \\ \text{a} \end{array} \mid \begin{array}{c} 7 \\ \text{ri} \end{array} \mid \begin{array}{c} 8 \\ \text{ved} \end{array} \mid \text{G. 494}$

where 4 is followed by an extrametrical unstressed syllable (4 in G., viz. vv. 32, 73, 170, 494 ; 1 in L., viz. v. 955).¹

THE CESURA

From the figures in the preceding section it can easily be seen that we have in Gaimar about 85 per cent. and in the

¹ There are apparently three other instances in the "Lai" of lines of type (5), but in each the final word of the first hemistich is *havene*, the metrical value of which in this poem is uncertain (*v. supra*, § 3).

"Lai" about 80 per cent. of the lines apparently based on a grouping 4+4, which, as the proportion is rather too high to be merely the result of chance, must be intentional, and with it the pause after the fourth syllable. Is this medial pause a cesura? Clearly, as a living feature of the verse, it is not, otherwise we should find it recurring regularly in the same position in every line as it does in those of ten or more syllables. On the other hand, it is by no means certain that it does not represent a late stage in the decay of the cesura, the original presence of which in the octosyllabic has been accepted by many scholars. Especially has its presence been invoked to regularise lines of type (5), which, without being frequent, are found in most of the early Anglo-Norman poems in this measure. Thus Prof. Studer, in his edition of "Adam," discussing lines of type (5) which occur in his text, says: 'The short pause which in such cases exists in the middle of the verse could allow of the ellipsis of an unstressed syllable even in an Anglo-Norman poem of so early a period' (Intro., p. liv.) ; for if an extra-metrical syllable was allowed after the cesura in the longer lines, it is only logical to suppose that a cesura in the octosyllabic would carry with it the same tolerance. On the assumption of a cesura such a line as 'Qu'en Danemarche sunt arived' (G. 494) would be metrically parallel, as far as the first hemistich is concerned, with 'Tu es mi sires, jo sui ta creature' (*Adam* 77), and such a line as 'L'aventure d'un riche rei' (L. 12) be parallel, in the incidence of the cesura after an unstressed syllable, with those lines containing the 'Anglo-Norman' cesura to which Vising alludes in his manual (*op. cit.*, p. 85), citing *Horn* 1762: 'E reis Hunlaf l'aime cum l'oust engendré.' Both cases are perhaps to be brought into connection with that earlier uncertainty in the metrical value of atonic *e* before a pause of which "Brandan" and certain other Anglo-Norman poems give evidence by their peculiarity in the counting of syllables (*cf.* Vising, *op. cit.*, p. 82).

INTRODUCTION

Another feature of the "Lai" which deserves passing mention in this connection is the presence of about a dozen instances of rime between the fourth syllables of two (occasionally more) successive lines which are not always members of the same couplet. Similar rimes between adjoining syllables (*e.g.* 4 and 5) of successive lines are also found occasionally in our poem, though in no grouping so numerous as those at the fourth syllable, and, as both sets are chiefly confined to common terminations, *e.g.* the adverbial *-ment* or the verbal *-eit*, it is probable they are merely coincidences and not early examples of 'rime brisée.'

Though it is possible to accept the persistence of a cesural tradition in the great majority of the lines comprising our two texts, it is worth noting that, whereas the proportion of lines of type (1a) diminishes in the "Lai" as compared with Gaimar, that of lines of types (3) and (4) and of those lines not based on the 4+4 division shows an increase. These remaining correct lines are distinguished from those already discussed by the comparative insignificance in their structure of the fourth syllable, which is not always final and is usually unstressed; their commoner varieties are:

(6) $\begin{array}{c} 1 \\ \text{Cil} \end{array} \mid \begin{array}{c} 2 \\ a \end{array} \mid \begin{array}{c} 3 \\ \text{veit} \end{array} \mid \begin{array}{c} 4 \\ le \end{array} \mid \begin{array}{c} 5 \\ cor \end{array} \mid \begin{array}{c} 6 \\ a \end{array} \mid \begin{array}{c} 7 \\ gar \end{array} \mid \begin{array}{c} 8 \\ der \end{array} \mid \text{L. 47}$

where 4 is an unimportant monosyllable (39 in G. ; 104 in L.) ;

(7) $\begin{array}{c} 1 \\ \text{Il} \end{array} \mid \begin{array}{c} 2 \\ ot \end{array} \mid \begin{array}{c} 3 \\ la \end{array} \mid \begin{array}{c} 4 \\ so \end{array} \mid \begin{array}{c} 5 \\ rur \end{array} \mid \begin{array}{c} 6 \\ E \end{array} \mid \begin{array}{c} 7 \\ del \end{array} \mid \begin{array}{c} 8 \\ si \end{array} \mid \text{L. 207}$

where 4 is an unstressed initial syllable (43 in G. ; 62 in L.) ; in both types there is some tendency to pause either after 3 or after 5.

INCORRECT LINES

Under this head there remain in all six lines to discuss : one in Gaimar's Haveloc episode (though the proportion of incorrect lines in his "Estoire" proper would appear to be somewhat higher) and the other five in the "Lai," some of which seem to be due either to faults in transmission or to incomplete revision by the author.

'Co ques nurris te mercierai' (G. 380) has, unless contraction in the future be accepted—for which there would seem to be no warrant in the rest of his work—a syllable too many. The agreement of the MSS. makes it doubtful whether there has been confusion between *mercier* and *merir*, as one is tempted to suggest.

'Quant ot Arthur finie sa guere' (L. 37) has apparently a silent post-tonic *e* ; this is also the case in the MSS. reading of L. 694 : 'Al vallet unt s'amie tollue'—the two lines being metrically parallel—and in both a simple inversion corrects the line. As the presence of *vunt* in L. 693 might possibly be the cause of the change, I have adopted the correction in the critical text in the latter case, but, as the alteration is slightly more drastic in the former one and there is no similar excuse in the text, I have hesitated to introduce the simple correction of L. 37 to : 'Quant finie ot Arthur sa guere' into the text. 'E a sa navie retournez' (L. 1058) is also hypermetric ; as pointed out previously (*v. supra*, § 3), the omission of the copula would correct the metre, though the syntax rather requires its presence.

'Sun fiz k'il forment ama' (L. 62), 'Tuz cels k'il sot k'il ama' (L. 82) are both, as they stand in the MSS., seven-syllable lines, but the fact that they end with the same word and occur at an interval of twenty lines¹ suggests that they

¹ We have seen reason for supposing that the original MS. of the "Lai" had probably twenty lines to the column (*v. supra*, § 7).

INTRODUCTION

had not been finally revised by the author. In the former 'ke cil forment ama' and in the latter 'dunt sot k'il les ama' suggest themselves as possible but not convincing emendations. 'Kar Deus l'amot si fu prestre' (L. 502) is another seven-syllable line which seems probably due to faulty revision; L. 511 and 538 suggest the introduction of *sainz* as a means of correcting the metre.

HIATUS, ELISION, ENCLISIS

It is in their attitude towards hiatus that our authors differ most noticeably, and consequently that question will most attract our attention. The phenomenon is difficult to classify, but a division into four groups seems to be fairly generally accepted. These are:

A. logical—where the hiatus serves to emphasise a word, e.g. 'Celë ot grant hunte de lui' (L. 386); there is also one instance in Gaimar, *viz.* 428.

B. analogical—where the hiatus occurs after a heavy consonant group, e.g. 'Li altrë ot nun Edelsi' (G. 47) and twice in the expression *altrë hum* (G. 679, 704); there is no instance in the "Lai."

C. grammatical—where the hiatus occurs after atonic *e* which has become final by the loss of a succeeding dental, e.g. 'Rended a la dame sun dreit' (G. 797), where the MSS. readings point to the retention of the dental in the orthography; elision occurs in G. 383 and always in the "Lai."¹

¹ As this result is at variance with that given by Tanqueray in his discussion of the *dentale de liaison* in the "Lai" ("L'évolution du verbe en anglo-français," pp. 87 ff.), it is as well to point out that his conclusion is derived from the Rolls edition text which prints the later MS. With the change in the basis of the text the "Lai" ceases to be an exception to the usage of its period in this respect; this is an additional reason for preferring the earlier to the later MS.

D. metrical—where the line is metrically faulty unless hiatus be accepted. This is the most debated of the four groups, and the tendency of earlier editors was to emend the line so as to obviate the hiatus; at the present time it is perhaps more usual to allow the hiatus to subsist unless emendation is also advisable on other grounds. The only other instance of hiatus in the “Lai” falls under this head, *viz.* “Ensemblē unt lur conseil pris” (L. 684), where the context rather forbids the introduction of a conjunction. In Gaimar we have two instances, *viz.* ‘Es batailles quē Arthur fist’ (G. 37), where the hiatus occurs before a personal name, and ‘Cum en la salē est entrez’ (G. 653), which might possibly be classed under A. Further, we have in this connection to consider the name *Haveloc*. In both texts the MSS. vary in their orthography; D. prefers the form *Aveloc*, which, with one exception, P. also uses; L. prefers the form *Haveloc*, which R., with one exception, and H. always use. Though the early history of the name would lead us to expect a form with initial vowel, it seems fairly certain that the name was written, and probably pronounced, with the initial aspirate by Gaimar in keeping with the later development of the name; I therefore retain the traditional form *Haveloc* in his episode. As there is a clear case of elision in the “Lai,” *viz.* ‘D’Aveloc voil avant traier’ (L. 238), I have adopted there the form so indicated except in the title. The different treatment of the name by Gaimar is shown by vv. 614, 813 of his episode, in each of which *que* appears unelided before the name *Haveloc*, as is also the case in v. 898 of his “Etoire des Engleis”: ‘Del tens que Havelocs fud reis.’ The similar treatment of *que* before *Hereward* on two occasions (“Etoire,” vv. 5568, 5604) suggests possible aspiration of the initial syllable in the former name. Unfortunately, Gaimar’s habit of using English personal names in more than one way

metrically¹ makes any certain conclusion on this point impossible.

Nevertheless it is clear that Gaimar has no objection to hiatus, whereas the author of the "Lai" seems to have avoided it. This aversion seems to have extended to the pronoun *eo* in the "Lai," where it is only found twice before a verbal form with initial vowel, eliding at L. 460 but not at L. 161; whilst in Gaimar it is found much more frequently in hiatus than not. Apart from an instance of the non-elision of *sa* in G. 813, the two authors hardly differ in their use of elision but conform to the custom of their period.

Similarly with regard to words with variable number of syllables, except that the "Lai" uses only the dissyllabic *ele* and Gaimar also employs the monosyllabic form, our authors are in substantial agreement in their usage, though the class of words involved is of much commoner occurrence in the earlier author, and here, as elsewhere, the author of the "Lai" shows no particular inclination to avail himself of any metrical licence.

Finally, both make use on occasions of enclises, but mostly in isolated instances; only those which are destined to survive in later French, *e.g.* *à* or *de* with the definite article, are used with any frequency.

¹ Thus he uses both Elvred and Elvered; both Knut and Kenut; accepts hiatus before some Edel- names, and elides before others, or even treats the same Edel- name differently, *e.g.* Edelred with elision in v. 4187, and, referring to the same person, with hiatus in vv. 4097, 4200 of his "Estoire." Therefore, in the same work 'Unc puis qu'Arthur s'en fud alez' (v. 3573) should not be alleged against the hiatus in G. 37.

§ 10. THE CONSTITUTION AND ORTHOGRAPHY OF THE TEXTS

In the discussion of the MSS. of our texts grounds were given for the choice of the Durham MS. as the basis of the text of Gaimar's Haveloc episode (*v. supra*, § 6) and of the Phillipps MS. for that of the "Lai d'Haveloc" (*v. supra*, § 7); but, though it is unnecessary to repeat the detailed supporting arguments, for reasons easily apparent the question of the orthography to be adopted arises.

It has already been pointed out (*v. supra*, § 6) that the MSS. of Gaimar fall into two groups—D. L. on the one side, R. on the other—and that, as a result of scribal omissions in the former and of mutilations in the latter, neither contains the full text. Consequently whichever be adopted as basis must be supplemented by the other, and this will lead, if there is any considerable difference in date or place of origin of the MSS., to divergences of language. If, in a passage which must be supplied from a later MS., there is a linguistic feature foreign to the author's usage, then a correction should be made; hence, in our text, lines introduced from R. have been made to conform as far as possible to the orthography of the rest of the text.

Further, as our text is not without literary value and appeals also to other than professed students of Old French, I have ventured further in the direction of standardising the orthography than I should consider advisable in a text purely, or primarily, of philological interest. A comparison of the language of D. with that of Gaimar shows little difference between them; what there is is largely due to the more frequent use of developments which were apparently only beginning when Gaimar wrote, and for this allowance has been made. Then, too, the extent of text at our disposal, over 6,000 lines, permits us—except in the case of words of

INTRODUCTION

infrequent occurrence—to determine the orthography preferred by the scribe in a given word, and to adopt that spelling throughout unless it can be shown to be contrary to Gaimar's usage ; such is the plan followed in the present edition.

As a result the text, though it may not reflect the author's language in every detail, will, at all events, not give a false idea of it ; and this is important because of the tendency to regard the text printed by a modern editor as fully representative of that of the mediaeval author. Thus, to select one instance, had the Rolls edition of the "Estoire des Engleis" been founded on the Durham, instead of on the Royal, MS., it is doubtful whether Gaimar's acquaintance with the vocalisation of *l* before consonants would have been so generally assumed, for the sole rime which has been adduced in support of this conclusion (vv. 2003-4) is found only in the latter MS.

Though the changes adopted would seem to be far-reaching, in practice they do not involve any extensive re-writing of the text. The principal standardisations introduced are : (1) the spelling *ai* has been retained except for a few words, *e.g.* *ewe*, *mestre*, in which reduction early took place and which are invariably written with *e* in the MS. ; (2) the sounds *e* and *ie* are distinguished in spelling except when they are actually rimed together ; (3) the spelling with *o* is generalised in the endings of the imperfect of the first conjugation ; (4) the spelling with *u* is generalised in words in *-onem*, *-orem*, *-osum*, and in the termination of the 1st person plural ; (5) the *l* is retained before consonants except in a few words, *e.g.* *gupilz*, in which very early dissimilation had taken place ; (6) the spelling with *qu* is used in the pronouns, and in *unques*, etc. (the scribe responsible for the first 400 lines of the text in D. prefers *k*) ; (7) the final dental in weak preterites and in past participles has been generalised as *d* and this spelling adopted where other words, *e.g.* nouns in *-atem*, are involved in the rime and occasionally

elsewhere (*cf.* v. 797 and note). These and other minor changes can be controlled by reference to the variants which record in cases of divergence the spelling of the MS. on which the text is based.

The only other problem which arises in connection with the text of Gaimar is the treatment of those rimes, involving nouns or adjectives, which are incorrect if we adhere to the continental rules of grammar. A cursory examination of his Haveloc episode is sufficient to show that for Gaimar the two-case declension is already breaking down, notably in the plural, where the use of the accusative form for the grammatical nominative is frequent. On the other hand, his rimes are, generally speaking, correct, though he allows himself a certain latitude where English names are concerned. Therefore, in such doubtful cases I have taken the rime rather than the grammar as a guide. Similarly, in certain interrimes, *e.g.* of past participles, I have not thought it necessary, where all MSS. agree in recording the accusative plural, to make a correction to the nominative in accordance with the grammar, and the same has been my procedure with plural subjects in the interior of the verse. In a few cases in which the MSS. do not observe the congruence of noun and article, *e.g.* vv. 71, 525, I have also made no correction as there is nothing to show that this may not be due to the author.

The reasons which led to the adoption of a certain measure of orthographic uniformity in the text of Gaimar are also operative, but in differing degree, to make such a change advisable in the "Lai d'Haveloc." We have on occasion to fill up a gap in the earlier, by resort to the later, MS., but such textual deficiencies are not extensive; on the other hand, the divergence between the language of the author and that of the scribe is much greater and the amount of text at our disposal for studying them restricted. Whilst it will not be practicable to proceed so far in the direction of uni-

INTRODUCTION

formity with the "Lai" as with Gaimar, an outline of the orthography of P. will illustrate the nature of the changes made and throw into relief certain features of interest which might be overlooked if recorded only among the variants. As with the former text, the changes introduced can be controlled by reference to the variants which record the spelling of the MS. on which the text is based.

In addition to the orthographic confusions of P. there is evidence that the scribe was not over-careful in the formation of some of his letters. Thus it is occasionally extremely difficult to decide whether he wrote *e* or *r*, e.g. in *pris* 67 and in *primes* 131, 133—which suggests that *sorur* 592 may have been intended by him for *sœur* as in 594 he uses the digraph. More often he displays indecision in the sequence *nu*, which is almost certainly written *mi* by him in vv. 87, 611, 832, 890, 1101; and the mistake *maint* (= *ni ant*) 748 is probably due to a similar confusion. Apart from these unintentional and uncertain spellings, the chief features of the orthography are as follows, adopting, as far as possible, the same presentation as in the study of the author's language.

A. (a) In tonic syllables the diphthong *ai* is most frequently represented by *e*, which has been adopted in the text; in free, final syllables the *ai* is usually maintained and has been generalised in the text, as the sound was probably still diphthongal for the author; under secondary stress *ei* is preferred except in dissyllabic forms of *faire*, where *e* is the rule—a distinction which has been maintained in the text; before nasals *ai* is preferred and has been generalised in the text, as the sound is distinguished by the author from *ei* before nasal.

(b) The outcome of *-atum* appears occasionally as *ee*, e.g. 123, 995; this seems to be an inverse spelling, the outcome of *-ata* being very frequently *e*; in the text the grammatical forms have been introduced.

E. (a) Only in infinitives of the third conjugation and

sporadically under secondary stress is any other spelling than *ei* (<Latin *e*) found.

(b) Speaking generally, both the outcome of free *e* and of *a* after palatal are written *e*, except in *ciel* (<coelum).

(c) Before *l*, when vocalisation is shown, the spelling preferred by the scribe is *eu*; once we have *nouveaus* 654.

I. Occasionally we have forms with the vowel doubled, e.g. *fiiz* 86, *pais* 847, *venquist* 948, *quitrun* 1019, to which may probably be added *Ethebrut* 286, *ocut* 603—both explicable as due to similar forms with accents omitted. Three other forms depend on a more serious confusion of *i* and *u*; they are: *furent* (=fient) 927, *sorryr* (=sorur) 530, and *pleisur* (=pleisir) 256. Twice we find *ei*, viz. *lei* 61, *icei* 169.

O. (a) The outcome of Latin free *o* in tonic syllables is usually *u*, and this has been generalised in the text with the following exceptions: *avoe* 933 (only occurrence), *for* (never with *u*), *ore* (once *ure* 835, once *oures* 71, otherwise with *o*), *tote* (three times with *u*, otherwise with *o*). Under secondary stress there is no decided preference, but the outcome of *ubi* is always *ou*.

(b) The outcome of *o*+palatal before *s* is generally *u*, except in *quisine* (though we have *qusine* 481). *Cocus* shows only *eu*, but *focus* shows *eu* (preferred by the scribe and adopted in the text) and *u*.

(c) In the endings of the imperfect of the first conjugation and of the preterite of *avoir* and *savoir* the scribe employs *ou* and *o* without preference; in the text the latter has been generalised as more in accord with the author's language.

U. Certain forms of *fu* (<fuit) are to be noted, viz. *feu* 139, 516, 940; *fey* 265; *fui* 852; they have not been introduced into the text. The reduction of *ui* to *i* is regular for the relative pronoun (once *qui* 415) and frequent in the pronoun of the third person, though there is sufficient distinction to support the functional differentiation (*v. supra*, § 8) and its generalisation in the text.

INTRODUCTION

ATONIC VOWELS. Frequently the pretonic vowel in hiatus is omitted by the scribe, but it has been restored in the text as it was undoubtedly syllabic for the author (*v. supra*, § 9). Less frequently a post-tonic vowel is omitted in the MS., but, again in conformity with the author's usage, it has been restored in the text. Everywhere in our MS. we find a parasitic *e* introduced into the group *vr* ; as it is not syllabic, it has been omitted in the text, and in this case the variant reading has not been recorded. The form *abata* 964 suggests that for the scribe *cumbattera* 937 derives from a verb of the first conjugation (*cf. sassemblerent : cumbaterent* in the MS. at 1029, 30).

L. The usual developments are found, *viz.* retention in some words, vocalisation in others, and disappearance in yet others, without it being possible to detect any preference. In view of the absence of proof of vocalisation in the author's language, and of some slight evidence of the retention, in the spelling at least, of *l* before consonants,¹ I have reintroduced it into the text except in a few special cases, *e.g. gopil, pucele, escuter.*

D.T. Very rarely does the scribe maintain final unfixed dentals, and, as this is fully in accord with the author's usage, the omission has been generalised in the text except for *ad* (<habet), which is only once found (995) without the dental.

S. (a) The MS. gives frequent examples of mutation before consonants, *e.g. feïtes* 353, *dit : prit* 583, 4 ; and of the consequent inverse spellings, *e.g. just : dust* 393, 4. The etymological forms have been adopted in the text.

(b) For the scribe *s* and *z* are completely interchangeable, *cf. soventez* 830, *fetex* 316 (beside *faites* 318), *nomes* 17, *garnis* 55, *venus* 804, *duisse* (=duze) 281. As the distinction is observed by the author, it has been introduced in the text.

¹ In *v. 201* the scribe of H. has confused *alsi* with his reduction of *Edelsi* ; this would hardly have occurred had he found in his 'Vorlage' *ausi*.

(c) Less frequent is the confusion with *c* which is responsible for *cel* (<sal) 792, *ces* (=ses) 529, *cil* (=s'il) 686, and for *donace* 355 and *enpence* 321. In the text *s* has been introduced in such cases.

(d) Twice we meet with confusion between final *s* and final dental, viz. *at* (=ad illos) 468, and *ad* (=habes) 617, but these isolated instances have not been retained in the text. OTHER CONSONANTS. In the relatives and in the conjunction the forms with *k* preponderate and have been generalised in the text. On the other hand, the sporadic occurrences of *w*, e.g. *enwai* 413, *wallet* 888, *wint* 715, *wnt* 688, have been eliminated, though *ewe* has been retained, it being the usual form. The prefix *cum* has no fixed form, being found as *cum*, e.g. *cumbatre*, as *com*, e.g. *acompaigner*, as *con*, e.g. *conseil*, and as *co*, e.g. *comander*.

The nature and extent of the changes introduced into the two critical texts have thus been indicated, and the outline of the orthography of MS. P., showing its divergences from the language of the author of the "Lai," will, it is hoped, justify the measure of standardisation adopted for that text and the consequent increase in the number of variants. The treatment of the other MSS. in this edition has now to be defined and, possibly, defended. The Rolls edition of Gaimar's Haveloc episode is based on MS. R., but the variant readings of the other two MSS. are recorded in great detail; consequently, whilst it has not seemed necessary to register merely orthographic variants, those affecting the sense have been included. Similarly with the "Lai," the Rolls edition is practically a reprint of MS. H., so that here again no attempt has been made to record other than sense variants of the later MS., though to these, in both texts, the widest interpretation has been given. However, because of their wider interest and, in one or two cases, uncertain identification, even the orthographic variants of the few place names involved have been duly entered.

INTRODUCTION

In conclusion, it should be noted that the punctuation of the text is modern ; that the acute accent is used to mark a final stressed *e* (and in the feminine ending *ee*) ; that the diæresis is used to mark a final unstressed *e* which would normally be elided and to facilitate the reading of the commonly-occurring digraphs, *e.g.* *ai*, *ei*, *ui* ; and that the enclosure in brackets of a reference letter in the variants shows that the reading of the MS. denoted thereby differs in orthography from the reading—that of the MS. first named—actually quoted.

GAIMAR : HAVÉLOC

Oïd avez cum faitement
 Costentin ot cest casement
 E cum Ywain refait fud reis
 De Mureif e de Loeneis.
 5 Mais de co vait mult malement :
 Mort sunt tuit lur meillur parent
 E li Saisne sunt expanduz
 Qui od Certiz erent venuz.
 Des Humbre tresqu'en Cateneis
 10 Duned lur ot Modred li reis
 Si unt saïsid e tut purpris
 La terre que ja tint Hengis ;
 Cele claïment en eritage
 Kar Hengis fud de lur lignage.
 15 Este vus ci une achaisun.
 En grant travail entrent Bretun
 Si funt Escot e li Pecteïis,
 Li Galweien e li Cumbreis.
 Tel guerre funt la gent estraine,
 20 En grant dolur entrad Bretaine.
 [E] li Engleis tuz jurz creisseient
 Kar d'ultremer suvent veneient ;
 Cil de Saisuine e d'Alemaïne
 S'ajustoent a lur cumpaine
 25 Pur dan Hengis, lur anceisur,

1. D. id (*initial omitted*). R. avez oi. 2. D. Costetin. L. Costentin. R. Costentin tint apres Artur tenement. 3. D. fu. R. Iwain. L. (R.) fud fet. 4. R. Muref. L. Leoneis. 5. D. mes. D.L. *omit* mult. 6. R. tut (D.L. *omit*). D. meilor. 7. D.R. Seisne. L. Sedne. 8. D. ki. D.L. de Kerdiz. R. furent. 9. D.L. desquen. R. tresken. D.L. Kateneis. 10. D. dune. R. Modret. 11. D. saisi. R. *omits* tut. 12. L. Hengist. 14. R. estait. 15. D.(L.) une chancon. R. *omits* une. R. acheson. 16. R. dunt en. 17. R. Escoz, Pictais. 18. D. Galwein. L. Galwais. R. Gawaleis. L. Cumbres. R. Combreis. 19. L. de guere. D.R. estrange. 20. D. entrat. L.R. Bretaigne. 21. D.L.R. *omit* e. R. Angleis. D.jorz. R. acreisseient. 23. D. Seisuine. L. Sessoinie. R. Sessoigne. L. Alemaïne. R. Alemaigne. 24. R. sajustent. D. cunpaine.

Les autres firent d'els seignur.
 Tuz jurz si cum il cunquereient
 Des Engleis la recunuisseient,
 La terre que vont cunquerant,
 30 Sil apel[o]ent Engellant.
 Este vus ci une achaisun
 Par quei Bretaine perdid sun nun.
 E les nevoz Arthur regnerent
 Qui encuntre Engleis guereierent.
 35 Mais li Daneis mult les haecient
 Pur lur parenz qui mort esteient
 Es batailles quē Arthur fist
 Cuntre Modred qu'il puis ocist.
 Se co est veir que Gilde dit,
 40 En sa geste trovai escrit
 Que dous reis ot ja en Bretaine
 Quant Costentins ert chevetaine,
 Cil Costentins, li nies Arthur,
 Qui ot l'espée Calibur.
 45 Adelbriht ot nun l'un des reis,
 Riches hum fud si ert Daneis.
 Li altrē ot nun Edelsi.
 Sue ert Nicole e Lindesi,
 Des Humbre tresqu'en Rotelant
 50 Ert le païs en sun cumant.

27. D. jorz. 28. D. recunciseient. L.(R.) recunusseient. 29. D. vunt. D.
 querant. L.(R.) cumquerant. 30. D.L.R. apellent. 31. L.R. un. D.(L.) chancon.
 R. acheson. 32. L.R. Bretagne. D. perdi. 33. R. Artur. 34. D. ki. D. guerier-
 ent. L.R. guereierent. 35. D. mes les. L. haoent. 36. D. ki. 37. R. Artur.
 38. R. Modret. 39. D. e (*initial omitted*). L. de. R. si. D.L.R. dist. 40. D.L.R.
 la. R. trova escrit. D.L. quil escrist. 41. R. Bretagne. 42. L. Costentis. R.
 estait. 43. L. Costentins. L.R. Artur. 44. D. ki. D. Kalibur. R. Caliburc.
 45. D.L. Achebrit (*and passim*). R. Adelbrit. D.L. un. R. aveit a nun li uns.
 47. D.L.R. altres. R. Edelsie. 48. D.L. fud. R. ert. D. Nincole. R. Lindeseie.
 49. D.L.(R.) desquen. D.L. orient. R. Roteland. 50. D. iert. L. cumandement.

Li altre ert reis de la cuntrée
 Qui ore est Nortfolc apelée.
 Tant s'acuintèrent cil dui rei
 Qu'il furent cumpaignun par fei
 55 E qu'entre els dous ot tel amur
 Qu'Edelsi dunad sa sorur
 A Adelbriht, cel riche reis,
 Qui'ert del lignage as Daneis.
 Li altre reis esteit Bretun
 60 Qui Edelsi aveit a nun.
 Sa sorur ot a nun Orwain,
 Mult ert franche e de bone main,
 De sun seignur ot une fille
 Que l'um apelad Argentille.
 65 La pulcele crut e tehid
 Kar asez fud que la nurrid
 Si avint ore tut pur veir
 Que sun pere n'ot nul altre eir.
 En Danemarche le regnez
 70 Aveit quatre riches cuntez
 E en Bretaine aveit cunquis
 Caïr Coel od le païs,
 Des Colecestre tresqu'en Hoilant
 Durot sun regne en un tenant.
 75 Tant cum il fud si poestis

52. D. ki. D. Northfolke. L. Nortfolke. R. Nortfolc. 54. D. kil. 55. D. que
 entrels. R. kentre els. L. *omits* que. D.L. *omit* dous. 56. D. qua. L. que (R.
omits). 57. D.L.R. -brit. 58. D. ki. 60. D. ki. 61. R. *omits* a. 65. R. tait.
 66. R. ki la norit. D.(L.) suef nurrid. 67. R. *omits* ore. R. trestut. 68. L. volt.
 69. L.R. Denemarche. 71. L.R. Bretagne. D. conquis. 72. D.L. Kair Koel.
 D. ot. L.R. od. R. *inserts* tut. 73. D.L. desquen. R. tresken. D. Hoyland.
 L.R. Hoiland. 74. R. realme.

Edelsi fud bien sis amis.
 Mais [i]dunc fud Adelbriht mort
 Enz en la cité de Tiedfort,
 A Colecestre fud portez :
 80 Iloc fud li reis enterrez.
 E Orewain e Argentille—
 Co fud la reïne e sa fille—
 En sunt alé[e] en Lindesi
 A sun frere, rei Edelsi.
 85 Le regne qu'Adelbriht teneit
 Li unt livred que garde en seit
 Kar la reïne ert enfermée
 Ne mais oit jurz n'en ad durée.
 Apres Albriht quant fud finie
 90 Unt la reïne ensevelie
 E Argentille fud nurrie
 A Nicole e en Lindesie.
 Si cum dient l'antive gent,
 Ele n'ot nul chevel parent
 95 De part sun pere des Daneis.
 Oez que fist cist feluns reis :
 Pur l'erité qu'il cuveitad
 Sa niece mesmari[ée] ad.
 Il la dunad a un garcun
 100 Qui Cuaran aveit a nun ;

77. D. mes. D.L.(R.) dunc. R. avint ke Adelbriht fu mort. D. -briht. L. -brit
 78. D.L. *omit* enz. L. Tiedford. R. Teford. 79. D. ported. R. portez. 80.
 D. enterred. R. enterrez. 81. D.L. Orwain. R. Orewain. 83. D.L.R. ale.
 D.L. a. D. Lindesie. L. -si. R. -seie. 84. R. Edelsie. 85. D. que. L. -brit.
 R. -briht. 86. D. livre, garde. 88. D. mes. R. vint. D. jorz. R. *omits* nen. 89.
 L. -brit. R. Albrict. 90. R. ensepelie. 92. D. Nincole. L.R. Nicole. D.L. e a.
 R. e en. R. Lindeseie. 93. R. dit. 94. D. chievol. L. chive. R. cheval. 95.
 R. *omits* pere. 98. D. senes mariad. L. mesmarier quidad. R. mesmariat. 99.
 D. garcon. 100. D. ki. R. Cuheran (*and passim*).

Pur co qu'abaissier la voleit
 Se purpensad qu'il li durreit.
 Cil Cuaran esteit quistrun
 Mais mult esteit bel vadletun,
 106 Bel vis aveit e beles mains,
 Cors eschiwid, suëf e plains ;
 Li suen semblanz ert tut tens liez,
 Beles jambes ot e bels piez.
 Mais pur co que hardiz esteit
 110 E volentiers se cumbateit
 N'aveit vadlet en la maisun,
 Se li faiseit ahateisun
 E sur lui cumencast medlées,
 Qu'il nel ruast jambes levées
 115 E quant il bien se curescot
 De sa ceinture le liot
 E cil dunc n'en aveit garant :
 Bien le bateit a un verjant.
 E nepurquant tant francs esteit,
 120 Se li vadlez li prameteit
 Que pur ico meins nel amast,
 Senes l'ure le desliast ;
 Quant il s'erent entrebaisiez
 Dunc esteit Cuaran haitiez.
 125 E li reis e li chevalier

101. D. que baisier. L.(R.) abassier. 102. D. purpensa. 104. D. mes (L. *omits*).
 R. mult par ert. 109. D. mes. 122. D.L.(R.) si li. 114. D. kil. R. rueit. 116.
 D. liout. 117. R. si cil, naveit. D. guarant. 119. R. nepurhoc. 120. D.L.(R.)
 si li. 121. D.L. co. 122. R. ignelure. 123. D.L. serreient. R. se erent.

Li dunoent de lur mangier.
 Asquanz li dunoent gastels,
 Asquanz quartiers de simenels,
 Les altres hastes e gelines
 130 Qui lur venei[e]nt des quisines,
 Que tant aveit pain e cunrei
 Que dous vadlez aveit od sei.
 E as vadlez de la maisun
 Faiseit suvent mult large dun
 135 De simenels, de canestels
 E de hastes e de gastels.
 Pur co qu'esteit si bien amez
 E si preisiez e si loez
 N'aveit francs hum en la maisun,
 140 Se Cuaran en voleit dun,
 Qui ne li dunast volentiers.
 Mais il n'aveit suing de luiers,
 De tant duner cum il aveit—
 Co li ert vis que poi esteit—
 145 E quant il n'aveit que duner
 Volentiers l'alot enpruenter,
 Puis le dunot e despendeit—
 Co qu'enpruentot tresbien rendeit—
 Quanqu'il aveit trestut dunot
 150 Mais nule rien ne demandot.

126. D. lui. 127. D.L. esquanz. D. lui. D.L. guastels. 128. D. esquanz. 130.
 D. ki. D.L. veneit. R. veneint. 131. D.L. *omit* pain. D.L. de. R. e. 133. D.(R.)
 meisuns. L. meisun. 134. D. feseit. L. *omits* mult. D.(R.) larges duns. L.
 large dun. 135-6. D.L. *omit*. 135. R. e de c. 139. D. meisun. 140. D.L.R. si.
 141. D.L. ke. R. kil. 142. D. mes. D.L. suig. R. soing. 144. D.L. *omit* que.
 146. D.L. alot. R. lalout. 148. R. soldout. 150. D. mes.

GAIMAR : HAVELOC

Il ert issi en la maisun
 Escuieler a un quistrun.
 Dous vadlez ot qu'il nurriseit
 Ore oez pur quei le faiseit.
 155 Il quidot qu'il fussent si frere
 Mais ne lur apartint sun pere
 Ne sa mere ne sun lignage
 Ne n'esteit de lur parentage.
 Puroc, s'il ert en tel despit,
 160 Venuz esteit de gentil lit
 E, se li reis s'aparceust,
 Ne qui que ja sa niece eust.
 Dunt il ert nez pas ne saveit.
 De lui sun juleur faiseit.
 165 Pur la terre Adelbriht tolir
 Faiseit sa niece od lui gisir,
 La fille al rei en povre lit.
 Ore est mestier que Deus aït
 Kar ci ot fait grant cruelté
 170 Pur cuveitise de cel regné
 Quant, pur le regne sul avoir,
 Hunist sa niece, a sun espeir.
 Il la dunad a sun quistrun
 Qui Cuaran aveit a nun.
 175 Cil ne saveit que femme esteit

151. D. iert, meisun. 152. D.L. cume. R. a une. 153. D. Kil nurriseit. 154.
 D. or. R. seignurs. D.L.R. oiez. R. *inserts* il. D. fasait. 156. D. mes. D.(L.)
 partint. 158. L. nesteit. R. parage. 159. D. puroc iert. L. pur nent ert. R.
 purhoc ail estait. D.L. itel. R. tel. 160. D ne nuls. R. venuz. L. gentiz home fu
 si cum jo quit. 161. D.L. *omit* s(e). 163. D. iert. 164. D. faseit. 165. D.
 Akebriht. L. -brit. R. Albrict. 166. D. faseit. 174. D. ki. D.L. Cuarans. 175.
 D. *omits* esteit.

Ne qu'il faire ne li deveit ;
 Tresqu'il unques el lit veneit
 Adenz giseit si se dormeit.
 Argentille ert en grant purpens
 180 Pur quei il giseit si adenz
 E mult forment se merveillot
 Qu'unques vers li ne se turnot
 Ne ne la voleit aprismier
 Cum hum deit faire sa muillier.
 185 La niece al rei se cumplaineit,
 Suvent sun uncle maldiseit,
 Qui si l'aveit deseritée
 E a un tel hume dunée,
 Tant qu'il avint a une nuit
 190 Qu'il firent primes lur deduit.
 Apres ico si s'endormirent,
 Mult s'entrainerent e joïrent.
 La fille al rei en sun dormant
 Sunjad qu'ele ert od Cuarant
 195 Entre la mer e un boscage
 U cunversad un urs salvage.
 Devers la mer veeit venir
 Porcs e senglers prestz d'asaillir
 Icel grant urs qui tant ert fier
 200 Qui voleit Cuaran mangier.

176. L.R. *omit second* ne. 177. D.L. desquil. R. treskil. D. unkes. 182. D. que
 unc. L.(R.) que unques. 185. D.(L.) lu rei. R. al rei. 187. D. Ki. 194. D. iert.
 195. D.L. veie. R. mer. L. en. 198. D. sengliers. L.R. senglers. L. pres.
 R. prist. D. de saillir. L. dassaillir. R. asaillir. 199. D.L. *omit grant*. D. ki,
 esteit. L.R. ert. 200. D.(L.) ki volt.

Od l'urs aveit asez gupilz
 Qui puis le jur orent perilz
 Kar les senglers les entrepristrent,
 Mult en destruistrent e ocistrent.
 205 Quant li gupil furent destruit
 Cel urs qui demenot tel bruit,
 Un sul sengler fier e hardid
 L'ad par sun cors sul asaillid,
 Tel li dunad od l'une dent,
 210 En dous meitez le quer li fent.
 Quant l'urs se sent a mort feruz
 Un cri jetad puis chaïd jus
 E li gupil vindrent curant
 De tutes parz vers Cuarant,
 215 Entre lur quisses lur cuëttes,
 Lur chiefs enclins en chatonettes,
 E funt semblant de merci querre
 A Cuaran que firent guerre.
 Quant il les ot fait tuz lier
 220 Envers la mer volt repairier.
 Li grant arbre qui el bois erent
 De tutes parz li enclinerent ;
 La mer muntad e li floz vint
 Desi qu'al bois unc ne se tint.
 225 Li bois chaeit, la mer veneit,

202. D. ki, jor. 203. D. sengliers. L.R. senglers. 206. D. ki. 207. D. senglier.
 L.R. sengler. 208. L. *omits* sun. 209. R. de. 210. D.L. cors. R. quer. 212.
 D. chai. R. est chau, *omits* jus. 213. L. avant. 216. R. a genuletes. 218. D.L.
 Cuarant. R. a ki. 219. R. lever. 221. D. ki. 222. D. *omits* parz. 223. D.
 munta. 224. D. dessi. L. dissi. R. desi. R. *omits* unc.

Cuaran ert en grant destreit.
 Apres veneient dous leons
 Si chaeient a genuilluns.
 Mais des bestes mult ocieient
 230 El bois qui en lur veie esteient.
 Cuaran pur pour qu'il ot
 Sur un des granz arbres muntot
 E les leons vindrent avant
 Envers cel arbre agenuillant.
 235 Par tut le bois ot si grant crid
 Que la dame s'en esperid
 E cum ele ot ico sungied
 Sun seignur ad fort enbracied.
 Ele le trovad gisant envers,
 240 Entre ses braz sil ad aers ;
 Pur la pour ses oilz ovrid,
 Une flamme vit qui issid
 Fors de la buche sun marid
 Qui encore ert tut endormid.
 245 Merveillad sei del avisium
 E de la buche sun barun
 E de la flamme qu'ele vit.
 Ore entendez que [li] ad dit.
 "Sire," fait ele, "vus ardez,
 250 Esveilliez vus se vus volez,

229. D. mes. 232. D.L. un grant arbre. R. un des granz arbres. 233. D.L. urs.
 R. leons. 234. D.L. larbre. R. cel a. L. en genuillant. 235. D. cri. 236. D.
 esperi. R. eveilli. 237. D. sungie. 238. D. enbracie. 239. L. repeats gisant.
 241. D. le. 242. L.R. flambe. D.(L.) ki sen. 244. D.L. que. R. ki. 247.
 R. flambe. 248. D.L.(R.) quele, omit li. R. omits ad. 249. D. omits ele. 250.
 D.L.R. si.

De vostre buche une flamme ist,
 Jo ne sai unques quil i mist."
 Tant l'enbracad e traist vers sei
 Qu'il s'esveillad e dist : " Pur quei
 255 M'avez esveillied bele amie ?
 Pur quei estes espourie ? "
 Tant la preiad, tant la blandid
 Qu'ele li cuntad tut e gehid
 De la flamme e del avisiun
 260 Qu'ele ot veud de sun barun.
 [E] Cuaran l'en respundid
 Del avisiun qu'il oïd.
 Sulunc sun sen espelst le sunge—
 Quanqu'il dist tut i ert mencunge.
 265 " Dame," fait il, " co serrad bien
 Ambure a vostre ues e al mien.
 Ore m'est avis que co puet estre.
 Li reis tendrad demain sa feste.
 Mult i avrad de ses baruns ;
 270 Cerfs e chevrols e veneisuns
 E altres chars tant i avrad,
 En la quisine en remaindrad.
 Tant en prendrum a espandant,
 Les escuiers ferai manant
 275 Des bons lardez e des brauns

251. L.R. flambe. 255. R. repeats purquei at the beginning of the line. D. esveillie.
 256. R. espontie. 257. R. inserts e before second tant. 258. R. regehit. 259.
 D.L.R. flambe. 260. D. veu. 261. D.L.R. omit e. L. Cuarant. R. omits len. 263.
 R. sens. 264. D.L. dit. R. dist. D. menconge. 265. L.(R.) dist. 268. D.L.
 que li, omit aa. 269. D. omits i. 272. R. e en la, tant r. 273. D. prendrunt. L.(R.)
 prendrun. 274. D. esquiers. 275. R. de, de.

Des escuieles as baruns.
 Li escuier me sunt aclyn
 Ambure al seir e al matin.
 Cil signifient li gupil
 280 Dunt vus sunjastes : co sunt il.
 E l'urs est morz, ier fud ocis,
 En un bois fud salvage pris.
 Dous tors i ad pur les leons
 E pur la mer pernum les pluns
 285 U l'ewe munte cume mer
 Desi que freit la fait cesser ;
 La char des tors i serrad quite.
 Dame l'avisūn est dite."
 Argentille quant ot co dire :
 290 " Encore avant me dites, sire,
 Quei icel fu puet espeleir
 Que vi en vostre buche ardeir."
 " Dame," [fait] il, " ne sai que deit
 Mais en dormant si me deceit ;
 295 Tresque jo dorm ma buche esprent,
 De la flamme nient ne me sent.
 Vers tei en ai hunte mult grant
 Que co m'avient en [mun] dormant."
 Dist Argentille : " Amis, entent.
 300 Nus sumes ci huntusement ;

276. D.L. e des. R. des. 278. R. vespre. 280. D.L. *insert* co *before* sunjastes *not after*. 281. D. er. 283. L. *omits* les. 285. D.L. munted. 286. D.L. deci. R. desi. In D.L. 287-8 *appear after* 289-90. 289. D.(L.) co oid. R. ot co. 291. D.L. que. R. quei. D.L. feu. R. fu. D. espeler. 292. R. *inserts* vi *after* buche *not after* que. 293-4. D.L. *omit*. 293. R. dist, ke dait. 294. R. mes. 295. D.(L.) desque. R. treske. D.L. *omit* jo. 296. R. flambe. 297. R. veires jo en. L. *omits* mult. 298. D.L.R. *omit* mun. 299. D.L. ami. R. a moi. D. entend.

Mielz nus vendreit estre eissilliez
 Entre paiens e enpairiez
 Que ci gisir en tel huntage.
 Amis u est li tuen lignage ? ”
 305 “ Dame,” fait il, “ a Grimesbi,
 D’illoc turnai quant jo vinc ci.
 Se la ne truis mun parented,
 Suz ciel ne sai dunt jo sui ned.”
 “ Amis,” fait ele, “ kar i alum
 310 Saveir se ja i troverum
 Nul hum qui mei ne tei amast
 U meillur conseil nus dunast.”
 Dist Cuaran : “ La meie amie,
 U seit saveir u seit folie,
 315 Jo ferai co que vus volez,
 La vus merrai se vus loez.”
 La nuit jurent tresqu’al cler jur.
 L’endemain vont a lur seignur.
 Al rei vindrent querre cungied ;
 320 Quant il co ot sin est haitied,
 Tut en riant le lur dunad.
 A tuz ses humes s’en gabad
 E di[s]t : “ S’il unt un poi de faim,
 U al tierz jur u al demain,
 325 Tut se mettrunt el repairier

301. D. issilliez. L. eissillez. R. exillez. 302. R. aliens. D. enperrez. L. enterrez.
 R. enpairez. 305. L. Grimisbi. R. Grimesby. 307. D.L.R. si. L. trofs, mi. D.
 parente. 308. D. (sui) ne. 310. D.L.R. si. 311. D. ki. 312. D. meillor.
 R. mieldre. 315. D. frai. L.R. ferai. 316. D.L.R. si. L. repeats si.
 R. inserts me. 317. D.L. desqual. R. treskal. D. jor. 318. D. lendemein vunt.
 319. D. cungie. 320. R. fu. D. haitie. 321-33 are torn out in R. 321. L. tuut.
 323. D.L. dit. 324. D. jor, demein. 325. L. tuit sen remettrunt.

Quant ne purrunt mierz espleitier."
 Ore s'en vont cil a Grimesbi.
 La troverent un bon ami,
 Pescheur ert, iloc maneit,
 330 La fille Grim celui aveit.
 Quant recunut les treis meschins,
 Cuaran e les dous fiz Grims,
 E il sot de la fille al rei
 [Qu'ele ert sa muillier] en la lei
 335 [Mult fud] pensifs en sun curage ;
 Dist a sa femme qui ert sage :
 " Dame," [fait] il, "[nus] que ferum ?
 Se vus loez, descuverum
 A Haveloc, le fiz le rei,
 340 Nostre cunseil e le secrei.
 Dimes lui tut overtement
 Dunt il est nez e de quel gent."
 Dist la dame : " S'il le saveit,
 Jo qui qu'il le descuverait
 345 En [i]tel lieu par sun folage
 U tost li vendreit grant damage.
 Il n'en est mie si savant
 Qu'il sace cuvrir sun talent.
 S'il saveit qu'il de reis fud nez,
 350 Curtes ures serreit celez.

326. D. espleiter. 327. D. vunt. L. Grimisbi. 331. D. meschiens. L. meschines.
 333. L. solt. 334-8. D.L. omit. 334-5 partly destroyed in R. 335. R. son corage.
 336. R. que mult. 337. R. dist, omits nus, ferom. 338. R. discoverom. 340.
 L. e nostre. 341. D. dime. L. dium. R. dimes. D.L. omit lui. R. li. 344. D.
 que il. 345. D.L.R. tel. 346. R. len avendreit. 347. R. omits est. 348. D.
 saced. L. saceit, curir. 349. D. fust. L.(R.) fud. 350. D.L. fust. R. serreit.

E nepuroc ore l'apelum,
 Dunt il est nez ore demandum,
 E, se sa femme vient od lui,
 Bien li poum dire, co qui,
 355 Dunt il est nez e de quel terre
 E cum eissillad par la guerre."
 Atant apelent Haveloc—
 E Argentille vint avoc—
 E li prodom e sa muillier
 360 L'unt pris mult bel a raisuner.
 "Amis," funt il, "dunt es tu nez ?
 En quel lieu est tis parentez ?"
 "Dame," fait il, "[i]ci laissai
 Mun parenté quant m'en turnai.
 365 Tu es ma suer, jo sui tis frere
 Ambure de pere e de mere.
 Grim fud mis pere, un pescheur,
 Ma mere ot nun Sebruc, s'uxor.
 Quant furent mort d'ici turnai,
 370 Mes dous freres od mei menai.
 Ore esmes granz, revenuz sumes
 Mais noz parenz ne cun[e]umes
 Ne mais sul tei e tun seignur ;
 Bien sai tu es nostre sorur."
 375 Respunt Kelloc : "Tut i ad el.

352. R. *omits ore, inserts li*. 353. D.L.R. *ai*. 356. D.L.(R.) *cum il*. L. *omits la*.
 357. D. Aveloc. L. Havreloc. R. Haveloc. 358. D.L. Argentele. R. Argentille.
 359. D. pruedhueme. L. produme. R. prodom. 361. D. estes. L. est. R. es tu.
 363-6 *are torn out in R*. 363. D. ci. L. cil. 367-72 *partly destroyed in R*. 367.
 D. peschur. L. pescheur. 368. D.L.R. *sa*. 371. D.L. *eimes (only last two letters*
in R.). 372. D. mes. D.L. *parentez*. R. *parenz*. D.(L.) *cunumes*. R. *conussumes*.
 373. D. mes. 374. D. ies. L.R. *es*.

Unc tis pere ne vendid sel
 Ne ta mere ne fud salniere.
 Grim vendid sel si fud peschiere.
 De mes freres grant gré te sai,
 380 Co ques nurris te mercierai.
 Ier arivad laïs al port
 Un bon kenard e grant e fort,
 Pain e char meine e vin e blé—
 D'icel unt il mult grant plenté—
 385 Ultre la mer vuelent passer.
 Se vus volez od els aler,
 Jo qui qu'il irrunt el païs
 U sunt voz parenz e amis.
 Se vus volez od els aler,
 390 Nus les vus purrum aluer,
 Dras vus durrum a remuiers
 Sin porterez de noz deniers
 E pain e char e bon cler vin
 Pur prendre al vespre e al matin ;
 395 Cunrei avrez tant cum voldrez,
 Voz dous vadlez od vus merrez.
 Mais celez bien vostre secrei :
 Vus fustes fiz a un bon rei,
 Danemarche ot par eritage
 400 Si ot sun pere e sun lignage.

376. D. peres. L.R. pere. D. vendi. 378. D. vendi. 380. D. co que. L. co ques.
 R. de co kes as nuri. D.L. ten. R. te. 381. D.L. yer. D. lays. L. lais. R. leus.
 382. R. *changes order of bon and grant.* 383. R. menied. 384. D.L. de tel. R.
 dicel. 386. D.L.R. si. D. vulez. 387-90. D.L. *omit.* 387. R. quid kil. 388.
 R. vos amis. 389. R. si. 390. R. bien a. 396. L. noz. 397. D. mes. 399-400.
 D.L. *omit.* 399. R. out, heritage. 400. R. out, son, lineage.

Li vostre pere ot nun Guntier
 Si prist la fille al rei Gaifier.
 Alvive ot nun, ele me nurrid,
 Maint bien me fist tant cum vesquid ;
 405 Ele me levad, co dist ma mere.
 Fille sui Grim, un sun cumpere.
 Mais co avint en vostre terre :
 Li reis Arthur la vint cunquerre.
 Pur sun treu que li detint
 410 Od mult grant gent el païs vint ;
 Al rei Guntier semblad cuntraille,
 Juste la mer li tint bataille ;
 Ocis i fud li reis Guntier
 E d'ambes parz maint chevalier.
 415 Qui Arthur plot, dunad la terre.
 Mais la reïne pur la guerre
 Ne pot el païs remaneir
 Si s'en fuïd od le dreit eir :
 Co estes vus, si cum jo crei,
 420 Danz Havelocs, le fiz le rei.
 Mis pere aveit mult bone nef,
 La reïne amenot suef,
 Vers cest païs l'en amenot
 Quant si avint, cum a Deu plot,
 425 D'uthlages fumes encuntrez ;

401. L.R. Gunter. 402. L.R. Gaifer. 403. D. Alleve. L. Allene. R. Alvive.
 404. D.(L.) fud vif. R. vesqui. 405-9 are torn out in R. 405. L. levast. 407.
 D. mes. 408. L. Artur, lalot. D. cunqueere. 410-4 partly destroyed in R. 411-2
 are repeated in D. by the new scribe who begins at this point. 411. D. cuntraire.
 L. contraille. 412. D.L. insert e before juste. 413. D. li rei. L. le rei. R. li reis.
 415. D.R. Artur. L. Arthur. R. volt. D. dunat. 417. D. al. L. el. R. en la
 terre. 418. D. fuit. 419. D. este. L.R. estes. 420. D.L. Avelocs. R. Haveloc.
 424. D.R. omit a. 425. D. de.

En mer furent trestuz ruez
 Noz chevaliers e nostre gent
 E la reïne ensement.
 Unc n'i garid hum fors mun pere
 430 Ne nule femme fors ma mere.
 Mis pere esteit lur cunuissant,
 Pur co garirent li enfant—
 E jo e vus e mi dui frere—
 Par la preiere de mun pere.
 435 En cest païs quant arivames
 Nostre grant nef par mi trenchames
 Kar tute fud fraite e malmise
 Quant la reïne fud ocise.
 De nostre nef maisun feïmes.
 440 Par un batel bien garesimes
 Dunt nostre pere alad peschier.
 Peissuns eumes a mangier,
 Turbuz [e] salmuns e mulvels,
 Graspeis, porpeis e makerels ;
 445 A grant plenté e a fuisun
 Eumes pain e bon peissun.
 Del peissun cangium le pain
 Que [l'um] nus aportot a plain
 E cum nus eumes deniers
 450 Mis pere dunc devint salniers.

429. D. guarid hom. 431. D. conuissant. 437. D.L. ert. R. fu. D.(L.) frainte.
 R. freite. R. malveise. 438. D.L. ert. R. fu. 440. L. omits bien. 443. D.L.R.
 omits e. 446. D. oumes. 447-56 are torn out in R. 447. L. changium. 448. D.
 omits que. D.L. hom. D. aportout. 450. D.L. peres.

Tant cum vesquid il e ma mere
 Bien vus nurrid mielz que mi frere.
 E jo remis si pris seignur,
 Cil m'ad tenud a grant onur ;
 455 March[e]ant ert, mer sot passer
 E sot bien vendre e achater.
 En Danemarche fud l'altrier
 E a plusurs oïd preier,
 Se hum vus trovot, que venissiez
 460 E le païs chalengissiez.
 Bien vus loum que la turnez.
 Voz dous vadlez od vus menez,
 Pur vus servir seient od vus,
 Se bien vus prent, mandez le nus.
 465 Nus vus siuvrum se vus volez,
 Se Deus vus rent voz eritez.”
 Dist Haveloc e sa mullier :
 “ Nus vus rendrum mult bon luier,
 Plus vus ferum que ne querez,
 470 Se Deus nus rent noz eritez,
 E les vadlez od nus merrum.
 Pur Deu pensez que nus passum.”
 Respunt la dame : “ Veirement
 Ci remaindrez tant qu'aiez vent
 475 E, se jo puis, ainz que passez,

451. D. vesqui. 452. D. nus. L. vus. D. nurrit. 455. D.L. marchant. 456. D.L. set. 457-9 partly destroyed in R. 457. L. Denemarche. D. le autreer. 459. D.L. si hom. R. sil vus. R. trovast. 461-2. L. omits. 461. D. omits vus. R. omits la D. turnissiez. R. turnez. 463. L. serreient. D. od vos. 464. D.L.R. si. 465. D.L.R. si. 466. D.L.R. si. D. Deu. L.R. Deus. D. heretez. 467. D. Aveloc. L. Avelocs. R. Haveloc. 462. D.L. e plus (D. pus) vus rendrum que ne quidez. 470. D. heritez. 472. R. par Deu bien en penserom. 474. L. omits tant. 475. D.L. omit e. D.L.R. si.

De meillurs dras vestuz serrez.
 Cil remistrent dunc a sujur,
 Vestuz furent a grant onur.
 Tant sujurnent que vint l'ored
 480 E puis se sunt en nef entred.
 E danz Algiers, li marcheanz,
 Ad fait pur els les cuvenanz
 Lur froc dunad il e Kelloc
 Pur la maisniée Haveloc
 485 E asez lur i mist vitaille,
 Tresqu'a un meis ne ferad faille.
 Pain e vin e char e peissun
 Lur mist es nefes a grant fuisun
 E tresqu'unques la nef flotad
 490 Li esterman bien se drescad.
 Dous nefes i ot tut veirement,
 Lur veilz drescent cuntre le vent.
 Tant unt nagied e governed
 Qu'en Danemarche sunt arived.
 495 En la cuntrée u ariverent
 A une vile s'en alerent,
 La quistrent sumiers e carrei,
 Mener i firent lur cunrei.
 Les march[e]anz sunt tuz remes
 500 Od lur herneis enz es dous nefes.

487. R. par, *omits* grant. D. enur. L.R. honur. 479. D.L. sujurnerent. R. sujurnent. 480. D.L.R. ai. 481. D.L. Algies. R. Algiers. D. marchant. L.R. marchanz. 482. D. le cuvenant. L. les cuvenanz. R. li covenanz. 483-4. D.L. *omit*. 483. R. dona. 484. R. meisne. 485. D.(L.) assez lur mist enz vitaille. R. e asez lur i mist vitaille. 486. R. treis m. D.L. frad. R. volt ke. 487. R. *inserts* bon *before* peissun. D. peisuns. L.(R.) peissun. 488. D. *omits* lur. D. fuisuns. L.(R.) fuisun. 489. D. tresque unches, flotat. 490. D. drescat. 491. D. tuit, (L. *omits*). 492. R. sigles, al. D. cuntre. L. cuntre le. 493. D. gouvernez. L. sujurne. 494. L.R. Denemarche. D. arivez. 497. D. careie. L. charrei. R. carrei. 498. D. cunreie. 499. D.L.R. marchanz. D. remeis. L.R. remes. 500. D. enz es dous nefes od lur herneis. L.(R.) od lur harneis enz (R. *omits*) es deus nefes.

E Haveloc e sa muillier
 Vont a la vile herbergier.
 Iloc maneit uns riches hum,
 Sigar Estalre aveit a nun,
 505 Seneschal ert al rei Guntier
 E de sa terre justisier.
 Mais ore est tels qu'en pais teneit
 E icel rei forment haeit,
 Qui dunc ert reis e poestis
 510 Sur l'autre gent d'icel païs,
 Pur sun seigneur qu'il aveit mort
 Par la vertu Arthur le fort
 Qu'il ot par traïsun manded
 E cel païs li ot duned.
 515 Pur co qu'il ert traître e fel
 Plusurs unt tenud le conseil
 Que ja od lui ne se tendrunt
 Ne de lui terre ne prendrunt
 Desi qu'il sacent del dreit eir,
 520 De sa vie u sa mort le veir.
 Cist reis qui dunc ert el païs
 Il esteit frere al rei Aschis
 Qui pur Arthur suffrid la mort
 La u Modred li fist tel tort.
 525 Il ot a nun Odulf le reis,

501. D.L. Aveloc. R. Haveloc. 503. D. un, hom. 504. D.L. lestarle. R. Estalre.
 L.R. omit a. 505. D. iert. L.R. Gunter. 508. L. il cel. R. *inserts* riche *before* rei.
 509. D. ki, rei. 510. D. autre. 511. D. sur (L. omits). R. pur. 512. D.(L.) par
 Artur (L. Arthur) le rei qui mult fud fort. R. par la vertu de Artur le fort. 513.
 D. mandet. 514. D. dunet. 516-28 *partly destroyed in* R. 516. R. plus en. 518.
 D. li. 519. D. deci, sachent. 520. D.L. u de. 521. D. rei, ki. 522. D.L. ert. R.
 esteit. L. Saschis. 524. D. Modret. L. Modred.

Mult fud haïz de ses Daneis.
 Si cum Deu plot e aventure
 Deus mist en Haveloc sa cure
 Pur sa muillier qui tant ert bele,
 530 Fille le rei, dame Argentele.
 Sis bachelers dunc l'asaillirent,
 Pristrent s'amie, lui ferirent
 E ses vadlez mult leidengerent,
 En plusurs lieus lur chiefs briserent.
 535 Si cum il s'en vont od s'amie
 Danz Havelocs en ot envie,
 Prent une hache mult trenchant
 Qu'en la maisun trovad pendant,
 Cels ad ataint en la ruële
 540 Qui menoent dame Argentele.
 Treis en ocist, dous en tuad
 E al siste le poin trenchad ;
 Prent sa femme, vint al ostel.
 Es vus le cri mult criminel !
 545 Prist ses vadlez e sa muillier
 Si s'en entrad en un mustier.
 Fermad les us pur la pour
 Puis munterent sus en la tur.
 Illoc aveit tel defensail ;
 550 Ja n'i fust pris senz grant travail

527. D. plut. L. plot. 528. D.L. Aveloc. 529. R. trop. 530. D. dam. R. la
 fille al rei, Argentelete. *After this line there is a space equal to six lines left blank in R.*
 531. D. bacheliers. 532. R. la dame. 533. D. ledengerent. 534. D. lius. 535.
 D. omits il. 536. D. Aveloca. L. Aveloc. R. Haveloca. 538. D.(L.) quil trovad
 en la maisun gisant (L. pendant). R. ken une meison trova pendant. 539. D.L.
 a. R. en. 540. D. qi. D.L. dam. R. Argentele. 542. D.L. sist. R. siste. 546.
 D. entrat. 547. D. fermat. 548-50 partly destroyed in R.

Kar cil tresbien se defendirent,
 Blescerent cels quis asaillirent.
 Quant danz Sigar [i] vint puignant
 Veit cum les pieres vait ruant
 555 Danz Havelocs qui mult ert fort ;
 Les cinc bricuns aveit il mort.
 Sigar le vit si l'avisad,
 Del rei Guntier dunc li membrad.
 Tresque [c]il unques l'ot choisid
 560 Unc pur ses humes nel haïd.
 A sun seignur [si] resemblot,
 Quant le vit tel pitié en ot
 Qu'a mult grant peine pot parler
 Tut l'asalt [dunc] ad fait cesser,
 565 Pais e triwes li afiad,
 En sa sale l'en amenad,
 Lui e sa femme e ses cumpainz,
 Les dous vadlez dunt dis des ainz.
 E quant furent aseurez
 570 Li riches hum ad demandez
 Qui il esteit e cum ad nun
 E dunt erent si cumpaignun,
 E de la dame demandad
 Dunt ele vint, qui li dunad.
 575 "Sire," fait il, "ne sai qui sui,

551-64 are torn out in R. 552. D. blesciéd ierent. L. blescerent. D. kis, asaillirent
 553. D.L. dan, omit i. 555. D.L. Avelocs. 556. L. esteient. 557. D. avisat
 558. L. Gunter. D. membrat. 559. D. tresquil. L. desquil. 560. L. unques.
 561. D.L. omit si. 562. D.L. insert que before quant. D. pitied. 563. D. paine.
 564. D.L. omit dunc. 565. D. lui. 566. D. inserts e before en. 568. D.L. e les v.
 R. les dous v. R. omits des. 570. D. hom. 571. D. num. 572. D.L. u. R. e.
 573. D.(L.) insert lui. 574. D. lui donat.

En cest païs qui que nez fui ;
 Uns mariniers qui Grim ot nun
 M'en menad petit vadletun ;
 En Lindesie en volt aler.
 580 Cum venimes en halte mer
 D'uthlages fumes asailliz
 Par qui jo sui si malbailliz.
 Ma mere i ert si fud ocise,
 Jo gari, ne sai en quel guise,
 585 E li prodom en eschapad
 Qui me nurrid e mult m'amad.
 Il e sa femme me nurrirrent,
 Mult m'amerent e encherirrent.
 Quant furent mort si m'en turnai,
 590 Un rei servi u jo alai,
 E dous vadlez furent od mei
 Tant cum jo fui od icel rei.
 Tant fui od lui en ma juvente—
 E ceste dame ert sa parente—
 595 Si cum li plot la me dunad
 E ensemble nus espusad.
 Ci sui venuz en cest païs
 Ne cunui nul de mes amis
 Ne jo ne sai a escient,
 600 Se jo ai [ci] un sul parent.

576. D.L.R. quid. 578. D. mamenat. L. me menad. R. menmenat. 579. R. Lindeseie, omits second en. 582. R. omits jo. 584. D. guari. L. inserts mes after gari. 586. D. nurid. 587. D. nurirrent. 588. R. me nurirrent e cherirrent. 590-1 partly destroyed in R. 592-606 are torn out in R. 592. D. cel. L. icel. 594. D. iert. 595. D. lui plut, donad. 597. D. venud. L. venuz. 598. D. cunuis. L. cunuz. 600. D.L. si, omit ci.

Mais par le los d'un march[e]ant—
 A Grimesbi est remanant,
 Mult est prodom, nun ad Algier—
 Il me load e sa muillier
 605 Ci a venir mes amis querre
 E mes parenz en ceste terre.
 Mais jo ne sai un sul numer,
 Ne sai cum jo les puis trover.”
 Dist li prodom : “ Cum as tu nun ? ”
 610 “ Sire ne sai,” cil li respunt,
 “ Tant cum jo fui en la curt grant
 Si m'apelerent Cuarant
 E tant cum jo fui vadletun
 Sai bien que Haveloc oi nun.
 615 A Grimesbi quant fui l'altrier
 Haveloc m'apelad Algier.
 Ore sui ici, quel que voldrez
 De ces dous nuns m'apelerez.”
 Sigar s'estut si escultad ;
 620 Del fiz le rei si li membrad
 A icel nun dunt il diseit,
 Le fiz Guntier cel nun aveit.
 Si li membrad d'un altre vice
 Qu'il sot jadis par la nurrice,
 625 De la flamme qui ert issant

601. D. de. D.L. marchant. 602. L. Grimisbi. 603. L. Augier. 608. R. ne ne.
 D. jos. L. jo les. R. *omits* jo. R. puise. 610. D. ne sai respunt li vadletun. L.(R.)
 sire ne sai cil li (L. *omits*) respunt. 611. D.(L.R.) mais tant (R. *omits*). 612. D. me.
 D. apeloent. L.R. apelerent. 613. D. en. L. a. R. e. 614. D.L. Aveloc. R.
 Haveloc. D. a nun. 615. L. en. R. Grimesby. R. *omits* quant fui. D. *omits*
 quant. D. autrier. 616. L. Aveloc. R. Alger. 617. D. or. 618. D.(L.) apelez.
 R. apeleretz. 619. R. Sygar. D. escutad. L. escutast. R. escultat. 620. D. lur.
 R. bien, *omits* si. 621. R. e. D. dun. D.(L.) esteit. R. diseit. 622. L.R. Gunter.
 623. D. membrat. 624. R. vit. 625. D.R. flambe. L. flame.

De sa buche quant ert dormant.
 La nuit le fist tresbien gaitier
 La u il jut od sa muillier.
 Pur co qu'il ert forment lassed
 630 De la bataille e del pensed
 Qu'aveit eud le jur devant
 Si s'endormid, nul nel demant.
 Eneslepas cume dormid
 De sa buche la flamme issid
 635 E li serjant qui l'unt gaitied
 A lur seignur l'unt tost nuncied.
 E li prodom levad del lit,
 Quant il i vint la flamme vit.
 Dunc sot il bien que veir esteit
 640 Co que de lui pensed aveit
 Mais tant li ert cel pensé chier,
 Unc nel volt dire a sa muillier
 Tresqu'al demain [quant] il levad.
 Dunc pur ses humes enveiad
 645 Si mandad pur ses chevaliers,
 Pur gelduns e pur peoniers.
 De tutes parz viennent asez.
 Quant il en ot mult asemblez
 Dunc vait a Haveloc parler,
 650 Bainier le fait e cunreier,

626. L. *omits* quant ert, *inserts* en. 632. D. sendormit. 633. L.(R.) ingnelpas. R. com il. 634. D.L.R. flambe. 635-9 *partly destroyed in* R. 635. D. sergant. R. -vant. D. gaitied. 636. D. cunted. L.R. nuncie. 637. D. levat. 638. L. a li. D. flambe. L. flamme. 639. L. solt. D.(R.) veirs. L. veir. 640-48 *are torn out in* R. *but cher and -oiller remain in* 641-2. 640. D. pensez. L. pense. 642. L. nel not. 643. L. desqual. D. quil. L. que il. 644. D. dun. 645. D. mandat. 646. D. geldons. L. geldes, puignerres. 647. D.L. *insert* i. 650. D. bainer.

De novels dras le fait vestir,
 En la sale le fait venir.
 Cum en la salē est entrez
 U vit tanz humes asemblez
 655 Pour ot grant que cele gent
 Ne li facent mal jugement.
 Pur les cinc humes qu'ot tuez
 Quidad qu'il fussent asemblez.
 Pur une hache en volt aler
 660 Qu'illoc teneit un bacheler.
 Saisir la volt pur sei defendre.
 Sigar le veit si l'ad fait prendre.
 Cum il le tindrent de tuz lez
 665 Sigar li dist : " Ne vus dutez,
 N'aiez garde le mien ami ;
 Bien le vus jur sil vus afi
 Qu'ore vus aim plus que ne fis ier
 Quant vus asis a mun mangier "
 Puis si l'asiet [par] delez sei.
 670 Aporter fait le corn le rei.
 Co fud le corn le rei Guntier ;
 Suz ciel n'i aveit chevalier
 Qui ja cel corn peust suner,
 Ne veneur ne bacheler,
 675 Si que ja nuls corner l'oïst,

651. R. lad fait. 654. D. *omits* u. L. *omits* tanz, *inserts* de. D. homes. 657. D. homes. 658. D. quidat. 659. L. i (R. *omits*). 662. D. Sigar la prist de sa main tendre. L. ne trove nul quil voille atendre. R. Sigar le vait si lad fet prendre. 663. D.L. *omit*. R. com, leez. 664. D. *omits*. L. dit. R. dist. *After* 664 L. *adds* mes la hache de vus metez. 666. D.L. e afi. R. sil vus afi. 669. R. asist. D.L.R. *omit* par. 671. L.R. al rei Gunter. 672. L. nen ad. R. naveit nul. 673. D. se. L.(R.) que. D. cor, soner. 674. D. veneor. 675. D. nus.

Se reis u dreit eir nel feïst.
 De Danemarche le dreit eir
 Le poeit bien corner par veir.
 Mais altrë hum ja nel cornast,
 680 Nuls hum pur nient s'en penast.
 Cel corn aveit Sigar garded.
 Li reis Guntier li ot livred.
 Quant il le tint nel pot suner ;
 Un chevalier le fait livrer
 685 Si li ad dit tut en riant :
 " Quil sunerad, quil seit cornant,
 Jo li durrai un bon anel
 Qui a bosuin valt un chastel.
 Celui qui en sun dei l'avrad,
 690 S'il chiet en mer, ne neierad
 Ne fu nel puet rien damagier
 Ne nul arme nel puet navrer."
 Tels cum [vus] di est li anel.
 Ore vont corner le mei[e]nel
 695 Li chevalier e li serjant ;
 Ne volt suner ne tant ne quant,
 Unc pur nuls d'els ne volt suner.
 Dunc l'unt baillied al bacheler
 Qu'il apeloent le prisun
 700 Qui Haveloc aveit a nun.

676. D.L.R. si. D.R. rei. D. omits u. L. dreit eir le rei. 677. L.R. Denemarche.
 678. R. pot. D.L. omit bien. R. soner. L.R. pur. 679. D. autre hom. 680.
 D. hom. R. sen traveillast. 681. D. cor. R. Sygar. D. garde. 682. D. rei.
 L.R. Gunter. D. lui. L. laveit. D. livre. 684. D.R. a un. 685. D. lui. R.
 omits. 686. D. quil sune si quil. L.(R.) ki le sunerad. After 686 R. adds si ke jo
 en saie oiant. 687. D. lui dorrai. 688-90 partly destroyed in R. 689. D. cil.
 L.R. celui. 690. D.L. si. R. sil. 691. D. ne li. L.R. nel. L.R. insert de before
 rien. L. dampner. 693-4. D.L. omit. 693. R. com, omits vus. 694. R. mainel.
 696. D. nel porent. L. ne le poent. R. ne volt. D. soner. L. omits second ne.
 698. D. bailliez, bachelier. 700. D. Aveloc. L. Haveloc. R. Avelocs.

Quant cil le tint sil esgardad
 E dist qu'il unques ne cornad.
 Al seignur dist : " Larrai ester.
 705 Quant altrë hum nel pot corner
 Tut vus claim quite vostre anel,
 Ne rois pener le mei[e]nel."
 Respunt Sigar : " Vus si ferez,
 A vostre buche le metez."
 710 " Sire," fait il, " cel ne vus vied,
 Ja serrad de mei asaied."
 Dunc prist le corn sil ad seigned,
 A sa buche l'ad asaied,
 Tresque sa buche le tuchad
 715 Le corn tant gentement sunad
 Qu'unc ne fud ainz oïd sun per ;
 Nuls hum ne sot si bien corner.
 Sigar l'entent, saillid en piez,
 Entre ses braz l'ad enbraciez
 Puis s'escriad : " Deus seit loez !
 720 Ore ai mun dreit seignur trovez
 Ore ai celui que desirai,
 Pur qui la guerre maintendrai.
 Co est li dreiz eirs e la persone
 Qui deit porter d'or la corune."
 725 Tuz ses humes ad dunc mandez.

701. D. esgardat. 702. D. unches. D. cor ne sonat. L.(R.) ne cornad. 704.
 D. autre. D.L. omit hum. R. home. 706. D. quant lunt asaiez tant damisel.
 L.R. ne rois pener le meinel (L. men cebuel). 707. R. omits vus si, inserts nun. 708.
 L. mettez. 709. D. nert. L.R. ne. 711-2. D.L. omit. 711. R. donc, seigne.
 712. R. asaie. 713. L. tost a. D. la. L.R. sa. D. la. L.R. le. 714. D.L. omit
 tant. 715. D.L. suner. R. son per. 716. D. hom. 717. R. Sygar. D. salid.
 719. D. sescrie. L.(R.) sescriad. D.L.R. Deu. D. loed. L.R. loez. 720. D. or.
 723. D. le dreit eir. L.(R.) li dreiz eirs. 725. D.L. baruns. R. homes.

Lores li firent fedeiltez.
 Il meïsmes s'agenuillad,
 De fei tenir l'aseurad.
 Puis enveiad pur les baruns
 730 A qui cil reis aveit tencuns
 Si sunt ses humes devenuz
 E a seignur l'unt receuz.
 Quant co unt fait asemblent gent,
 En quatre jurz en unt maint cent
 735 E al quint jur des chevaliers
 Orent il bien trente milliers.
 Le rei Odulf dunc defïerent.
 En un plain camp s'entrecontrerent.
 Asez i ot granz colps feruz ;
 740 Li reis Odulf fud dunc vencuz
 Kar Haveloc si se cuntint,
 Il sul en ocist plus de vint.
 Dous princes i ot del païs
 Qui ainz erent ses enemis
 745 E od Odulf s'erent tenud ;
 Ore sunt a sa merci venud.
 Del païs la menuë gent
 Vindrent a merci ensement
 E Haveloc lur fist parduns
 750 Par le conseil de ses baruns.

727. D.(L.) e il mesmes. R. il meïsmes. 728. D. lui seurad. L.(R.) laseurad.
 729. D.L. enveit. R. enveia. 730. D.L. cel rei. R. cel reis. 732. L. a lur.
 D. reconeuz. L. tenuz. R. receuz. 734. D. an. L.R. en. D.L. omit second en.
 735. D. el. L.R. al. 737. R. li reis Edulf. 738. D.L. e en. R. en un, omits camp.
 D.L. sencuntrentent. R. sentrecontrerent. 739. D.L. cops. R. colps. D. ferud.
 740. D. Odul. L. Odulf. R. Edulf. 741. D. car. D. Aveloc. L.R. Haveloc.
 743. D. ocist. L. i ot. R. aveit. R. el. 745. R. Edulf. 747. L. du. 749. D.
 Aveloc. L. Havelocs. R. Haveloc.

Tuit li jurerent fedeilté
 Li chevalier de cel regné
 E li prodome e li burgeis
 De lui firent seignur e reis.
 755 Grant feste tint e grant baldoire
 Si cum nus dit la veire estoire.
 Apres sumunst tut sun navire,
 De sun realme tut l'empire,
 760 Od sa grant ost la mer passad,
 Rei Edelsi dunc defiad.
 Co li mandad qu'il le defie,
 Se ne li rent le dreit s'amie,
 E Edelsi li remandad
 Qu'encuntre lui se cumbatrad.
 765 Cumbatirent sei en un plain
 Des le matin tresqu'al serein.
 Mult i ot humes afolez
 D'ambesdous parz e mort ruez
 770 Quant neire nuit les desevrad
 Tresqu'al demain qu'il ajurnad.
 Mais par cunseil de la reïne
 Qui enseignad une meschine
 Remist le mal e la bataille,
 Sun regné ot senz grant cuntraile.
 775 Tute nuit fist enfichier pels

751. D. lui, fedeilted. R. *omits* li, *inserts* sa. 753. D.(L.) prodome e li. R. prodome e li. 755. D.L. fist. R. tint. 756. R. versai. 757. R. sumond, tute. D. son. L.R. sa. 758. D. tuit. L. tut. R. tute. 760. R. li reis. 761. D.L. ce. R. co. D. lui. D. mandet. L.R. manda. 762. D.L.R. si. D. lui ne. L.R. ne li. 763. R. li reis E. L. *omits* e. D. tost lui mandad. L.(R.) le remandad. 765-6. D. *inverts*. 765. D. se c. L.R. c. sei. 766. D.(L.) des le seir tresqual matin. R. del matin treakal serain. 767. D.(L.) assemblez. R. afolez. 768. D.L. *omit* dous. D.L. a mort. R. e mort. D. navrez. L. dampnez. R. rueiz. 771. D.L. par le. 772. D. enseignat. D.L.R. meschine. 773. R. par ki r. *last four letters destroyed in* R. 774 *partly destroyed in* R. 774. L. ?travaille. 775. R. en terre ficher.

Plus gros e greignurs de tinels.
 Les morz humes i enficherent
 E tute nuit sus les drescerent ;
 Dous eschieles en firent granz
 780 Que veirement furent semblanz
 Que fussent cumbatanz e vifs,
 Le jur devant furent ocis.
 Hum qui de luinz les esgardot,
 Tute la char l'en hericot.
 785 Ambure de luinz e de pres
 Hysdus semblent morz descumfes.
 L'endemain s'en raparaillerent,
 De cumbatre mult s'aficherent,
 [E] les veurs vindrent devant
 790 Veeir la gent dan Cuarant.
 Quant unt veud quei il i ad
 Tute la char lur hericad
 Kar encuntre un hum qu'il aveient
 Del altre part set en v[e]ieient.
 795 Ariere en vont al rei nuncier
 Le cumbatre n'i ad mestier,
 Rended a la dame sun dreit
 E faced pais ainz que pis seit.
 Li reis ne pot par el passer,
 800 Dunc li estut co gr[a]anter

776. D. greinurs. R. granz. L. que toneuls. R. ke tonels. 777. R. en sus f.
 780. D. omits que. R. estait. 781. D. cum. L. que. R. kil. 782. R. erent. 783.
 D. hom ki, luin, agardout. L.(R.) esgardot. 789-90. D.L. omit. 789. R. les veors.
 790. R. veher, Cuherant. 791. R. que tant en i a. 792. R. len, omits lur. 793.
 D. car, home. 794. D. autre. D.(L.) aveient. R. vaient. 795. D.L. al rei le.
 R. arere en. D.(L.) tost. R. al rei. 796. D. del. L. le. R. li. 797. D. rent. L.
 rendez. R. rende, omits a. 798. D. facet. L. facez. R. fasce. D. plait. L.(R.)
 pais. 799. R. aler. 800. D. estuet. L.R. estut. D. ico. D.L.R. granter.

GAIMAR : HAVELOC

Kar si barun li unt loed.
 Rendud li fud tut le regned
 Des Hoilant tresqu'en Colecestre ;
 Reis Havelocs la tint sa feste.
 805 Les homages de ses baruns
 Recut par tut ces regïuns.
 Puis apres co que quinze dis
 Ne vesquid li reis Edelsis.
 Il n'ot nul eir si dreiturier
 810 Cum Haveloc e sa muillier.
 Il ot enfanz mais mort esteient.
 Li barnage tresbien otreient
 Que Haveloc e sa amie
 Ait la terre rei Edelsie.
 815 Ja si ot il, vint anz fud reis,
 [E] mult cunquist par les Daneis.

801. D. lui. 802. D. re. L.R. rendu. D. fu, tuit. 803. D. Hoyland. L. Holande.
 R. Hoiland. 804. R. rei Haveloc. 806. D. *omits* tut. 807. D. pois. D.L. *omit* co.
 D.L. desque. R. ke. 809. D. ne. R. dreiturel. 810. D. cume. 811. D.R. morz.
 L. mort. 812. *partly destroyed in* R. 812. D.L. les barnages. R. li barnag[e].
 813-6 *are torn out in* R. (*except* ke Ha in 813). 816. D.L. *omit* e.

LE LAI D'HAVELOC

Volunters devreit l'um oïr
 E recunter e retenir
 Les nobles fez as anciens
 E les pruësses e les bens,
 5 Essamples prendre e remembrer
 Pur les francs homes amender.
 Vilainies e mesprisuns :
 Co devreit estre li sermuns
 Dunt l'um les deust chastier
 10 Kar mult i ad vilain mester.
 Chescuns s'en gart cume pur sei.
 L'aventure d'un riche rei
 E de plusurs altres baruns
 Dunt jo vus nomerai les nuns,
 15 Assez brefment la vus dirai,
 L'aventure vus cunterai.
 Aveloc fu cist reis nomez
 E Cuaran rest apellez.
 Pur co vus voïl de lui cunter
 20 E s'aventure remembrer
 K'un lai en firent li Bretun
 Si l'apellerent de sun nun
 E Aveloc e Cuarant.
 De sun pere dirai avant.
 25 Gunter ot nun si fu Daneis,

Title. P. de Aveloc. H. d Haveloc le Danois. 1. P. voluntiers. P. home. H. lom.
 3. P. faiz, aimciens. 5. P. assample. H. essamples. 7. P. vileinies. 8. P. ceo,
 sarmons. 9. P. home. H. lom. H. se deust. P. dust. 10. P. vilein. H. mauveis.
 P. mestier. 11. P. qum. H. come. 13. P. autres. 15. H. le. 16. P. conterai.
 17. H. Haveloc (*and passim*). H. cil roi. P. nomes. 18. P. Curan. H. Cuaran.
 21. P. un. H. que un. 22. P. nom. 25. P. non.

LE LAI D'HAVELOC

La terre tint si esteit reis.
 En icel tens Arthur regna,
 Vers Denemarche mer passa,
 La terra volt suzmettre a sei
 30 E le treu avoir del rei.
 Al rei Gunter se cumbati
 E as Daneis ; tuz les venqui.
 Li reis meïsmes fu oscis
 E plusurs altres del païs ;
 35 Odulf l'oscist par traïsun
 Ki tuz jorz ot le quer felun.
 Quant ot Arthur finie la guere,
 Odulf dona tote la terre
 E les homages des baruns ;
 40 Pus s'en ala od ses Bretuns.
 Tant par destreit, tant par pour,
 Odulf servirent li plusur
 E tels i ot li quistrent mal
 Par le conseil Sigar Estal,
 45 Ki prodorm fu e riches ber
 E ben saveit guere mener.
 Cil aveit le cor a garder
 Ke nuls hom ne poeit soner
 Si dreiz eir ne fust de linage
 50 Sur les Daneis par heritage.

27. P.H. insert que after tens. 28. P. en. H. vers. H. Danemarche. 29. P. omits
 la and suz. H. souz. 30. P. aver. 31. P. a. H. au. 32. H. sis v. 33. P. meïsmes.
 P.(H.) i fu. P. ossis. 35. H. Odulf (*and passim*). P. ossist. 36. P. ke. H. qui.
 P. out. 37. H. Arthur out. P. fine. H. finie. H. sa. 38. P. tere. 40. P. pui.
 41. H. qe, qe. P. destreste. H. destreit. 43. P. out. 44. P. Sigat. H. Sigar.
 P.H. lestal. 45. P. prodome fud. 46. H. guerrier. 47. P.H. corn (*and passim*).
 48. P. nul home. H. nuls homs. H. pout. 49. P. fut. H. fust. H. del.

LE LAI D'HAVELOC

Ainz ke li reis Arthur venist
 N'od les Daneis se cumbatist,
 Gunters aveit un suen chastel
 Sur la marine e fort e bel.
 55 De viande fu ben garniz ;
 Dedenz mist sa feme e sun fiz ;
 A un barun de la cuntrée
 En ad la garde comandée.
 Grim ot [a] nun, mult le creï,
 60 Lealment l'ot tut dis servi.
 Sur tote ren li comanda
 Sun fiz, k'il forment ama,
 Ke, si de lui mesaveneit
 En la bataille ou il irreit,
 65 K'a sun poeir le garantist
 E fors del país s'en fuïst,
 K'il n'i fust ne pris ne trovez
 Nē a ses enemis livrez.
 Li enfes n'esteit gueres granz
 70 N'aveit mie plus de dous anz.
 Totes les ores k'il dormeit
 Une flambe de lui isseit,
 De sa buche li veneit fors,
 Si grant chalur aveit al cors ;
 75 La flambe rendeit tel odor,

51. P. que. 52. P.H. ne. 53. H. Gunter. P. sun. H. soen. 54. H. sus, *omits*
first e. 55. H. estoit. P. garnis. 56. P. dedens, femme. 59. P.H. *omit a.* 60.
 P.H. leaument. H. touz tens. 61. H. totes riens. P. lei. 62. P. quil. 63. P. li.
 64. H. en bataille sil morroit. 65. P. ke, poer. 66. P. hors. H. le meist. 67.
 P. ne fut. H. ni fust. P. *omits ne before* pris. P. ? peis. 70. P. ne. H. vii. 71.
 P. oures quil. 73. H. par la. 74. H. el. 75-6. P. *omits.* 75. H. rendoit tiel odour.

LE LAI D'HAVELOC

Unc ne sentit nuls hom meilur.
 A grant merveille le teneient
 Cil de la terre kil saveient.
 Pus ke li reis Gunters fu morz
 80 E si barun e sis efforz,
 Odulf haï e dechaca
 Tuz cels k'il sot k'il ama.
 La reïne grant pour ot
 E li prodom ki la gardot,
 85 Ke lur chastel sur els presist
 E le fiz le rei osceïst.
 N'unt mie force a els defendre.
 Altre conseil lur estut prendre.
 Grim fet sa nef apareiller
 90 E de viande ben charger ;
 Fors del país s'en volt fuïr
 Pur le dreit eir de mort garir.
 La reïne merra od sei
 Pur la dute del felun rei,
 95 Ki oscis aveit sun seignur ;
 Tost fereit a li deshonor.
 Quant la nef fu apareillée,
 Dedenz fist entrer sa meisnée,
 Ses chamberlencs e ses serganz,
 100 Sa feme ameine e ses enfanz,

76. H. onc, nul home, meillour. 77. P. merveille. 78. H. la veoient. 79. H. Gounter. 80. H. ses barons. P. ses effors. H. son efforz. 81. H. chai. 82. P.H. ceus. P. quil. P. sout. 83. P. out. 84. P. prodome. H. prodoms. P. qi. P. gardout. 85. H. sus. P.H. eus. P. preisseit. H. preist. 86. P. fiiz. P. esteit. H. occeist. 87. P. nen nunt. P. mil. H. mie. P. pur. H. a. 89. P. la (H. omits). P. apareiler. 92. P. heir, guarir. 93. P. mettra. H. merra. 95. P. ke. H. qui. P. occis. 96. P. freit, lui. 97. H. sa. P. aparile. 98. P. meisne. 99. H. chevalers. 100. H. demeine.

LE LAI D'HAVELOC

La reïne mist el batel,
 Aveloc tint suz sun mantel ;
 Il meïsmes apres entra,
 A Deu del ciel les comanda.
 106 Del havene sunt desancré
 Kar il aveient bon oré ;
 Le travers orent de la mer
 Mes ne sevent quel part turner
 Ou garder puissent lur seignur.
 110 Malement lur avint le jor
 Kar utlage les encuntrent
 Ki laidement les escrierent,
 Mult durement les asaillirent.
 Cil de la nef se defendirent
 115 Mes il aveient poi d'efforz.
 Li utlage les unt tuz morz,
 La nef unt robée e malmise
 E la reïne i fu oscise.
 N'i remist nul petit ne grant
 120 Fors Grim ki ert lur conuissant,
 Sa feme e ses enfanz petiz,
 E Aveloc i est gariz.
 Pus ke d'els furent eschapé,
 Tant unt nagé e tant siglé
 125 K'a un havene sunt parvenu

103. P. e il memes. H. il meismes. 104. H. se c. 105. P. *inserts* se. 106. H. eurent. 107. P. avrent. H. eurent. 108. P. *inserts* il. H. aler. 109. P. puisent. 111. P. utlages. H. outlaghes. 112. H. hautement. 114. H. et cil forment. 115. H. eurent. P. defors. H. desforz. 116. P. les utlages. H. li outlaghe. 117-8. H. *omits*. 117. P. robe. 118. P. ossise. 119. P. ne. H. ni. P. granz. H. grant. 120. P. qui. P. cointanz. H. conoissant. 121. P. femme. 123. P.H. eus. P. fu. H. furent. P. eschapee. 124. P. nagee, *omits* second tant, siglee. 125. P. ke a. H. qen.

LE LAI D'HAVELOC

E de la nef a terre issu.
 Co fu el north a Grimesbi.
 A icel tens dunt jo vus di
 N'i ot unques hom habité
 130 Ne cel havene neient hanté.
 Il i dresca primes meisun,
 De lui ad Grimesbi a nun.
 Quant Grim primes i ariva,
 En dous meitez la nef trencha.
 135 Les chefs i ad amunt drescez,
 Iluec dedenz s'est herbergez.
 Pescher ala si cum il sot
 [E] sel vendeit e achatot
 Tant k'il fu ben iluec seuz
 140 E des paisanz coneuz.
 Plusurs a lui s'accompaignerent,
 Sur le havene se herbergerent,
 Pur sun nun k'il orent oï
 Le liu appellent Grimesbi.
 145 Li prodom sun seignur norri
 E sa feme mult le cheri.
 Pur lur enfant tuit le teneient
 Kar altre chose ne saveient.
 Grim li ot fet changer sun nun
 150 Ke par tant nel con[e]just l'um.

126. P. tere. 127. P. ce. P. en. H. el. 128. P. y a cel. H. a icel. 129. P. nout.
 H. ni out. P.H. home. 130. P. naent. H. nert pas. 131. P. li. P. dressa. H.
 adresca. P. ?peimes. P. maisun. 132. P. li. 133. P. ?peimes. 134. P. meities.
 H. sa. 135. P. drecez. 137. P. alad. P. sout. H. soloit. 138. P.H. omit e.
 P. bel. H. siel. P. achatout. H. achatoit. 139. P. quil. P. feu. P. illuec. H.
 iloece bien. 140. H. inserts bien. 142. P. hebergerent. 143. P. quil. 144. H.
 appellerent. 145. P. prodome. H. prodoms. 146. H. bien le servit. 147. P.
 enfanz. H. enfant. P. tuz les. H. tuz le. 149. P. fait, non. 150. P. ki. P.H.
 conuist.

LE LAI D'HAVELOC

Li enfes crut e amenda,
 De cors, de membres, efforca.
 Ainz k'il eust gueres d'eé,
 Ne trovast il home barbé,
 155 S'encuntre lui luter volsist,
 Ke li enfes nel abatist.
 Mult par ert forz e vertuus
 E enpernant e aïrus.
 A merveille s'en esjoeit
 160 Grim li prodorm kil norriseit.
 Mes de co ot le quer dolent
 K'il n'ert norri entre tel gent
 Ou il p[e]ust alques entendre
 Afetement e sens aprendre ;
 165 Kar il quidot en sun corage
 K'uncore avreit sun heritage.
 Grim l'apella un jor a sei.
 " Bel fiz," fet il, " entent a mei.
 Ici manum sutivement
 170 Od pescheurs, od povre gent,
 Ki se garissent par pescher.
 Tu ne sez ren de lur mester ;
 Ici ne poez saveir nul ben
 Ne ja ne g[a]igneras ren.
 175 Va t'en, bel fiz, en Engleterre

152. P. e de m. 153. P. quil, de. 154. P. trouvast. 157. H. mes mult fut. 159.
 P. se. H. sen. H. esjoit. 160. P.H. prodome. P. quil. H. qi le. P. noriseit.
 H. nurrit. 161. P. ce, out. 162. P. norir. H. nurri. 163. P. puit. H. puist.
 P.H. auques. P. atendre. H. entendre. 164. P. afaitement. H. et af. H. omits
 e sens. 165. P. quidoist. 166. P. ke encore. P. corage. H. heritage. 168. P.
 beu. H. beau. 169. P. icei. H. inserts mult. 170. P. pechurs. H. pescheours.
 P. e od. 171. P. garissent. H. de. 173. P. ci. H. ici. P. inserts tu. 174. H. tu ni.
 P. guainerez. H. gaigneras. 175. P. beu. H. beau. P. Engleterre. H. Engleterre.

LE LAI D'HAVELOC

Aprendre sens e avoir quere,
 Tes freres meine ensemble od tei.
 En la curt a un riche rei
 Te met, bel fiz, suz les servanz.
 180 Tu es mult forz, creuz e granz
 Si poras ben grant fes porter.
 A tote gent te fai amer
 Si t'abandonne de servir
 Quant tu poras en liu venir
 185 E Deus te doint si espleiter
 K'alques i puisses g[a]igner."
 Quant li prodom l'ot enseigné,
 De novels dras apareillé,
 De lui le fet partir a peine.
 190 Les dous vallez od lui ameine.
 Tuit trei quidoent estre frere
 Si cum lur aveit dit lur pere.
 Tant unt lur dreit chemin tenu
 K'il sunt a Nichole venu.
 195 A icel tens dunt jo vus di
 Uns reis, ki ot nun Edelsi,
 Teneit la terre en sa baillie ;
 Nichole e tote Lindesie,
 Cele partie vers le north,
 200 E Rotelande e Estanfort

176. P. chier guere. H. avoir querre. 178. P. omits a. 179. P. beus. H. beau.
 H. sergan. 180. H. omits mult. P. fors. P. e cruz. H. parcreuz. 181. H. omits
 ben. 183. H. del. 185. P.(H.) deu. 186. P. ke onkes. H. que auques. P.
 pussez. H. puissez. P. gainer. H. gaigner. 187. P. le prodome. H. li prodoms.
 188. P.(H.) insert e. P. noves (H. omits). 189. P. fait. H. fist. 190. P. valez.
 191. P. tuz treiz. H. tuit troi. P. quidient. H. quidoient. 196. P. qui out num.
 H. qert nome. H. Alsi (and passim). 197. P. baillie. 198. H. Nicole. P. Lindeseie.
 H. Lindesie. 199. P. e li. H. cele. P. northt. H. north. 200. H. Stanford.

Ot cil alsì en heritage ;
 Mes il esteit Brez par linage.
 Le realme vers les Sureis
 Governot lors uns altres reis.
 205 Achebrit ot cil reis a nun,
 Mult ot en lui noble barun.
 Il ot la sorur Edelsi—
 Compaignun furent e ami—
 Orwein, une dame vaillant ;
 210 Mes il n'aveient nul enfant
 Fors une sule fille bele,
 Argentille ot nun la pucele.
 Reis Achebrit fu enfermez,
 E de grant mal fu mult grevez ;
 215 Ben set k'il ne pora garir.
 Edelsi fet a lui venir.
 Sa nece li ad comandée
 E sa terre tote livrée.
 Premierement le fist jurer,
 220 Veant sa gent, e afier
 Ke lealment la norrireit,
 E sa terre li gardereit,
 Tant k'ele fust de tel eage
 Ke souffrir poreit mariage ; —
 225 Quant le pucele serreit granz,

201. P. out, *omits* cil, ausi. H. alsì. P. eritage. 203. P. Suriens. H. Surois. 204. P. governout. P. lores (H. *omits*). 205. P. e sechebrit. H. Ekenbright (*and passim*). P. num. 206. P. out, barun. 208. P. compaignun. 209. H. Orewen. 210. H. entre eus neurent, *omits* nul. 211. H. mes que, *omits* sule. P. file. 212. P. damaisele. H. pucele. 213. P. Echebrit chai en enfermete. H. rois E. fut enfermez. 214. P. greve. H. forment grevez, *omits* fu mult. 215. P. quil (H. *omits*). H. poet. 217. H. fille. P. comande. 218. P. a. H. et. P. tere, livre. 219. P. premierment. P. fit. H. fet. 221. P. leaument, nurirreit. 223. P. que. P. fut. H. fust. 224. P. pout. H. porroit. 225. H. seit.

LE LAI D'HAVELOC

Par le conseil de ses tenanz
 Al plus fort home la doreit
 K'en la terre trover poreit.
 Pus li bailla ses fermetez
 230 [E] ses chastels e ses citez,
 Sa nece en garde e sa sorur
 E tuz les homes del honur.
 Mes la reïne enmaladi
 Pus k'Achebrit li reis fini ;
 235 Hastivement refu finie,
 Lez sun seignur fu enfuïe.
 D'els estoet ore ci laisser
 D'Aveloc voil avant traier.
 Reis Edelsi, ki dunc regna
 240 E les dous regnes governa,
 Bone curt tint, mult ot grant gent,
 A Nichole maneit sovent.
 Cil Aveloc a sa curt vint.
 Un des keus le rei le retint
 245 Pur co ke fort le vit e grant
 E mult le vit de bel semblant.
 Merveillus fes poeit lever,
 Busche tailler, ewe porter.
 Les esquèles receveit
 250 Apres manger—de co serveit—

227. P. li dureit. H. la dorreit. 228. H. que el reaume troveroit. 229. H. quil
 li baillast ses citez. P. les. 230. P.H. omit first e. P. les, les. H. ses, ses. P.
 chasteuz. H. chasteus. H. fermetez. 234. P. ke li reis Echebrit. H. qe E. (omits
 li reis). 236. P. seignurs. 237. P.H. de eus. P. estut. H. estoet. P. omits ci.
 238. P.H. de. H. conter. 241. H. et grant. 242. H. Nicole. 244. H. et un keu.
 P. ceus. 246. P. esteit. H. le vist. H. bon. 247. P. merveiles. H. merveillous.
 248. P. buche. H. busche. 249. P. receveit. 250. H. et a. m. les lavoit.

LE LAI D'HAVELOC

E quant k'il poeit purchacer,
 Piece de char ou pain enter,
 Mult par le dona volunters
 As vallez e as esquiers.
 255 Tant esteit francs e debonere
 K'a tuz voleit lur pleisir fere.
 Pur la franchise k'en lui ot
 Le teneient entr'els a sot,
 De lui feseient lur deduit,
 260 Cuaran l'apell[o]ent tuit
 Kar co teneient li Bretun
 En lur langage pur quistrun.
 Sovent le menoent avant
 Li chevaler e li servant
 265 Pur la force k[i] en lui fu.
 Pus k'il sorent sa grant vertu,
 Devant els luter le feseient
 As plus forz homes k'il saveient
 E il trestuz les abateit
 270 E, si nuls d'els le mesdiseit,
 Par dreite force le liot,
 Tant le teneit e justisot
 Ke cil li aveit pardoné
 E k'il esteient acordé.
 275 Li reis meïsmes mult sovent

251. P. quant il pout. H. quant quil poeit. 253. H. omits par. P. les. H. le. H. donoit. P. voluntiers. 255. P. debonaire. 256. P. a tus. H. que tuz. P. pleisur. H. pleisir. 257. P. quen, out. H. qil. 258. P. entre. H. entre eus le tenoient pur sot. 260. P. Curant. H. Cuaran. P. appelleient. H. appelloient. P. tut. H. tuit. 262. P.H. language. H. omits pur. 263. P. menouent. 264. H. sergant. 265. P.(H.) quen. P. li. P. fey. H. fu. 267. P.H. eus. P. les. H. le. 268. P. fors, quil. 269. H. abatit. 270. P. mil. H. nuls. P.H. de eus. H. mesdeisist. 271. P. dreit. H. dreite. P. les. H. le. P. liout. 272. P. justisout. 273. H. quil, inserts tut before pardone. 274. H. restoient. 275-6. H. omits. 275. P. memes, mut.

LE LAI D'HAVELOC

Le fist luter devant sa gent ;
 A grant merveille le teneit
 Pur la force k'en lui aveit.
 Dis des plus forz de sa meisun
 280 N'en aveient a lui fuisun,
 Duze home ne porent lever
 Le fes k'il sul soleit porter.
 En la curt fu ben lungement
 Desi k'a un asemblement,
 285 Ke li barun a la curt vindrent,
 Ki d'Achebrit lur terre tindrent
 E lors teneient d'Argentille,
 La meschine ki fu sa fille,
 Ki ja esteit creue e granz
 290 E ben poeit avoir enfanz.
 Le rei en unt a reisun mis
 E de sa nece l'unt requis
 K'a tel home la mariast
 Kis maintenist e conseillast
 295 E, si gardast sun serement,
 K'il s'en aquitast lealment.
 Li reis oï ke cil diseient
 E la requeste k'il feseient.
 Un respit lur en demanda
 300 E dist k'il s'en conseiliera,

276. P. fit. 277. H. li rois forment sesmerveilleoit. 278. P.H. de. H. veoit. 279. P. fors. 280. H. neurent vers lui nule fuisun. 281. P. dusse. P. poreient. H. poeient. 282. P. quil. H. omits sul. H. poeit. 283. H. omits ben. 284. P. deska un. H. dici qun. 286. P. de Ethebrut. 287. P. fore. H. et lors. P. de. 288. P. qui. H. quert. In P. 280-90 appear after 291-2. 289. P.(H.) ke. P. cruz. H. creue. 290. P. omits e. P. put. H. poeit. P. aver. 293. P. ke. P. mariast. H. mariast. 294. P. ke les. H. qis. P. conseillait. H. conseillast. 295. P. gardait. H. gardast. 296. P. ke il les tenist leaument. H. quil sen aquitast leaument. 297. P. out. H. oit. P. quil. H. qe cil. 298. P. requist. H. requeste. P. quil. 299. P. respist. H. respit. 300. P. e pus il. H. et diat quil. P. conseilera.

LE LAI D'HAVELOC

Saveir voldra e demander
 A ki il la pora doner.
 Terme lur mist, jor lur noma,
 A repeirer les comanda
 305 Quant il se serra conseillez.
 Edelsi fu mult veziez,
 A ses privez en ad parlé,
 Sun corage lur ad mustré,
 Conseil lur quist e demanda
 310 De cels kil requereient ja
 K'a sa nece donast seignur
 Ki maintenist els e l'onur.
 Mes il voleit melz souffrir guere
 K'estre dessaisi[z] de la terre. }
 315 Co li dient si conseiller :
 "[Or] fetes la loinz enveier
 En Bretaine dela la mer
 E a vos parenz comander,
 Nonain seit en une abeie
 320 Si serve Deu tote sa vie."
 "Seignurs," fet il, "enpensé ai
 K'altrement m'en deliverai.
 Quant Achebrit li reis fina
 E sa fille me comanda,
 325 Un serement me fist jurer,

301. P. saver vodra. 303. H. et jor, *omits* lur. 305. P. *omits* se. 306. P. e ilai.
 H. et il si. P. veillez. H. veziez. 308. H. et son c. tut demustre. 310. P.H. ceus.
 P. quil. 311. P. ke. 312. P. ke. H. qis. P. eus (H. *omits*). H. a honur. 313.
 H. vout. P. meuz. H. mielz. H. lur g. 314. P. ke dessaisi estre. H. qil ne soit
 dessaisi. 315. P. li. H. si. 316. P.H. *omit* or. P. fetez. H. enmener. 317. H.
 Bretagne. 318. P. sil faites. H. et. 319. P.H. nonaine. P. un. 321. H. tut
 el. P. enpence. 322. P. ke. H. tut. 323. P. Ethebrit. H. rois E. quant il fina.
 324. P. terre. H. fille. 325. P. serment. H. serement. P. fit. H. fist.

LE LAI D'HAVELOC

Veant sa gent, e afier
 K'al plus fort home la doreie
 K'en la terre trover [poreie].
 Lealment m'en puis aquiter,
 330 A Cuaran la voil doner
 Celui ki est en ma quisine.
 De chalderes serra reïne.
 Quant li barun repeirerunt
 E la requeste me ferunt,
 335 Oianz [lur] tuz lur voil mustrer
 K'a mun quistrun la voil doner
 Ki forz est e de grant vertu :
 Co sevent cil ki l'unt veu.
 Si nuls i ad kil cuntredie
 340 Ne kil m'aturt a vilainie,
 Dedenz ma prisun le mettrai
 E al quistrun cele dorai."
 Ainsi l'ad li reis devisé.
 Al jor k'il ot a cels nomé
 345 Apareilla de ses privez,
 En sa chambre set vinz armez,
 Kar il quidot avoir mellée
 La ou cele serreit donée.
 A la curt vindrent li barun,
 350 Li reis lur mostra sa reisun.

326. H. veianz vus touz. 327. P. cil quil. H. que au. P. dureit. H. dorroie. 328.
 P. trovereit. H. troveroie. 329. P.H. leaument. P.H. me pus. 330. P. Cuarent
 (and passim). H. Cuaran. 331-6. P. omits. 331. H. quest, cuisine. 332. H.
 chauderis, reyne. 333. H. repaieront. 334. H. feront. 335. H. omits lur. H.
 touz. 336. H. que, mon quistrun. 337. P. omits e. 338. P. qui. 339. P. se mul
 i a. H. sil ni ad. P. quil. 340. P. quil. 341. P. en. H. dedenz. P. la. H. le.
 342. P. la. H. cele. 343. P.H. ensi. P. le. H. li. 344. P. quil. P.H. ceus. 345.
 P. aparilad. 346. P. e en. 347. P. quidout, aver. 348. P. celee. H. ele. H.
 esposee. 350. P. rei. H. rois. P. omits lur. P. mustre. H. mostra.

LE LAI D'HAVELOC

"Seignurs," fet il, "or m'escutez
 Pus ke ci estes assemblez.
 Une requeste me feïstes,
 L'autre jor quant a mei venistes,
 355 K'a ma nece seignur donasse
 E sa terre li comandasse
 Vus savez ben, e jol vus di,
 Quant Achebrit li reis fini,
 En ma garde sa fille mist,
 360 Un serement jurer me fist
 K'al plus fort home la doreie
 K'el realme trover poreie.
 Assez ai quis e demandé
 Tant k'or en ai un fort trové.
 365 Un vallet ai en ma quisine
 A ki jo dorai la meschine.
 Cuaran ad [i]cil a nun.
 Li dis plus fort de ma meisun
 Ne se poent a lui tenir,
 370 Sun giu ne sa lute souffrir.
 Veritez est desi k'a Rome
 De corsage n'ad si fort home.
 Si garder voil mun serement
 Ne la puis doner autrement."
 375 Quant li barun unt escuté

351. P. omits or. P. me. 352. P. issi. H. ci. P. assemblez. 353. P. queste. H. requeste. P. feites. H. feistes. 354. H. lautrer. 355. P. donace. 356. H. otriassse. 358. P. Ethebrit. 359. P. file. 360. P. serment. H. serement. 362. P. al. H. el. 364. P. ore en. H. qen. 367. P.H. cil. 368. P. les. H. li. P. forz. H. fort. P. en. H. de. 369. P. poeient. H. poent. 370. P. gu. H. giu. 371. P. de ci kil. H. des qa. 372. H. grant. 373. P. serment. H. serement. 374. P.H. pus, autrement.

LE LAI D'HAVELOC

K'il ot dite sa volunté,
 Entr'els d[ise]ient en apert
 Ke co n'ert ja par els suffert.
 Ja i eust granz colps donez
 380 Quant il demande ses armez.
 Sa nece lur fet amener
 E a Cuaran espuser.
 Pur li aviler e honir
 La fet la nuit lez lui gisir.
 385 Quant colché furent ambedui,
 Celë ot grant hunte de lui
 E il assez greinur de li.
 Adenz se jut si se dormi,
 Ne voleit pas k'ele veïst
 390 La flambe ki de lui issist.
 Mes pus s'aseurerent tant,
 E de parole e de semblant,
 Ke [c]il l'ama e od li jut
 Cum od s'espuse fere dut.
 395 La nuit ke primes [l]i parla
 Tel joie en ot e tant l'ama
 K'il s'endormi e oblia,
 Envers se jut ne se garda
 E la meschine s'en dormi,
 400 Sun braz jeta sur sun ami.

377. P.H. eus, dient. 378. P. ke par eus nert ja s. H. ceo n.j.p. eus. 379. P. grant.
 H. granz. P. copz. 380. H. fet venir les. 381. P. sil. H. sa. P. *omits* lur. P. fait.
 384. P. lad fait. H. la fist. 385. P. coche. P. amdui. H. ambedui. 387. H.
 greindre. P. lui. 388. P. en peis. H. as denz. P. e si. H. si se. 389. P. par.
 H. pas. 390. P. ke la flambe. H. la flambe qe. 391. P. mais, se assurerent. H.
 sasseurerent. P. itant. H. tant. 392. H. par, par. 393. P. ke il. H. quil. P.
 lui, just. 394. P. il od sun, *omits* fere. H. od sespouse. P. dust. 395. P. quil.
 H. qe. P. i. H. en. 396. P. out. H. *omits* e tant, *inserts* qil. 397. P. ke. 398. P.
 just. P. sen torna. H. se garda.

Co li vint en avisïun
 K'ele ert alée od sun barun
 Ultre la mer en un boscage.
 La troverent un urs sauvage,
 405 Gopilz aveit en sa cumpaigne,
 Tote coverte la champaigne.
 Cuaran voilent asaillir
 Quant d'autre part virent venir
 Porz e senglers kil defendirent
 410 E des gopilz le garantirent.
 Quant li gopil furent vencu,
 Un des senglers par grant vertu
 Vers l'urs ala si l'envaï,
 Iluec l'oscist e l'abati.
 415 Li gopil, ki od lui se tindrent,
 Vers Cuaran ensemble vindrent,
 Devant lui se mistrent a terre,
 Semblant firent de merci quere,
 E Cuaran les fist lier.
 420 Pus volt a la mer repeirer
 Mes li arbre, ki el bois erent,
 De totes parz li enclinerent.
 La mer crut e li floz munta
 Desi k'a lui—grant pour a.
 425 Dous liuns vit de grant ferté

401. H. iceo, avint. 402. P. ke, ale, a *corrected to* od. H. a. 403. P. utre, *omits*
 un. 404. H. troevent. P. savage. 405. P. gupilz. P. cumpaignie. H. compaignie.
 406. H. tut fut. 407. H. voleient. 408. P.H. autre. 409. H. chiens. P. quil.
 P. defenderent. H. defendoient. 410. P. le guaranterent. H. mult occioient. 411.
 P. gopilz. H. goupil. P. vencuz. H. venu. 412. P. vertuz. H. vertu. 413.
 P. vers lui ala. H. ala vers lours. P. enwai. 444. P. mes Cuarant loust le venqui.
 H. iloeques loccit et labatit. 415. P. qui. 416. H. Coaran. 417. P. li. 419. H.
 Coaran. P. fit. H. fist. 420. P. vot. 421. P. qui. P. en. H. el. 423. P. le flot.
 H. flot. 424. P. dico ele. H. de si qua lui. 425. P. *inserts* kar. P. par. H. de.

LE LAI D'HAVELOC

Vers lui vindrent tut effreié,
 Les bestes del bois devor[er]ent,
 Celes k'en lur veie troverent.
 Cuaran fu en grant effrei,
 430 Tant pur s'amie cum pur sei,
 Sur un halt arbre andui munterent
 Pur les liuns k'il [re]duterent.
 Mes li liun avant aloent,
 Desuz l'arbre s'agenuilloent,
 435 Semblant li feseient d'amur,
 E le teneient a seignur.
 Par tut le bois ot si grant cri
 K'Argentille s'en esperi.
 Mult ot del sunge grant pour
 440 E pus ot plus de sun seignur
 Pur la flambe k'ele choisi,
 Ki de la buche li issi.
 En sus se trest e si cria
 Si durement ke l'esveilla.
 445 "Sire," fet ele, "vus ardez.
 Alas ! tut estes alumez."
 Cil l'enbraca e trest vers sei.
 "Bele amie," fet il, "pur quei
 Estes vus ici effreiée ?
 450 Ki vus ad si espoentée ?"

427. P. devorent. H. devoroient. 428. P. quen. P. trouverent. H. trovoient.
 429. H. Coaran. 430. H. plus, qe. 431. P. alt. H. *omits* andui. 432. P.(H.)
 duterent. 433. P. mais. P. alouent. 434. P. sagenulouent. 435. H. firent. 436.
 P. ke le. H. quil le. 438. P. ke A(-lle). P. seesper. H. sen esperi. 439. P.
omits mult, *inserts* ot *after* sunge. 440. H. puis out greindre. 442. P. qui. P. sun
 seignur. H. li. 443. P. traist, *omits* e. 444. P. qui seyv. H. qele esv. 446. H.
 lasse. P. ja tut estez. 447. P. trait. H. estreinst. 448. P. estez. P. ai. H. issi.
 P. effreie. 450. P.H. issi. P. espunte. H. espoentee.

LE LAI D'HAVELOC

"Sire," fet ele, "jo sungai.
 M'avisîun vus cunterai."
 Cunté li ad e coneu,
 Del feu li dist k'ele ot veu,
 455 Ki de sa buche veneit fors.
 Ele quidot ke tut sun cors
 Fu alumez : pur co cria.
 Cuaran la reconforta.
 "Dame," fet il, "ne dotez ren.
 460 C'est ben al vostre oes e al men.
 L'avisîun k'avez veue
 Demain poet estre con[e]ue.
 Li reis deit sa feste tenir,
 Tuz ses baruns i fet venir.
 465 Veneisun i avra assez
 E jo dorai des granz lardez
 As esquiers a grant plenté
 E as vallez ki m'unt amé.
 Li esquier sunt li gopil
 470 E li garcun ki plus sunt vil ;
 E li urs fu des er oscis,
 En nostre quisine fu mis.
 Dous tors fist ui li reis beiter,
 Pur les liuns les puis cunter.
 475 Les plums poum mettre pur mer

453. P. lui. P. coneue. H. coneu. 454. P. tel fu. H. del feu. P. dit. H. dist.
 P. out veue. H. ad veu. 456. P. quidoit, que. 457. P. enlumine. H. allume. 458.
 P. conforta. H. reconforta. 462. P. put. H. poet. P.H. conue. 464. P. barons.
 465. P. averat. 466. H. jeo dorrai hastes e l. 468. P. at. H. as. P. que mult.
 H. qui mont. 470. P. qui. H. sont plus. 471. P. fui. 472. H. et en. P. si fu.
 H. omits fu. 473. P. deus. P. fit. H. fist. P. omits ui. 474. P.H. pus. 475.
 P. pouns. H. poom. P. mei. H. mier.

Dunt li feus fet l'ewe munter
 Dite vus ai l'avisïun,
 Ne seez mes en suspecun.
 Li feus ke ma buche jeta,
 480 Ben vus dirai quei co serra.
 Nostre quisine ardra, co crei,
 Sin erc en peine e en effrei
 De porter fors nos chald[e]runs
 E nos paeles e nos plums.
 485 Mes nepuroc ne quer mentir ;
 De ma buche soelt feus issir
 Quant jo m'endorm, ne sai pur quei ;
 Ainsi m'avent : co peise mei."
 Del sunge laiss[er]ent a tant
 490 Si s'endormirent li enfant.
 Mes l'endemain la matinée,
 Quant Argentille fu levée,
 Un chamberlenc, ki fu od li,
 Ke li reis sis pere norri,
 495 S'avisïun dist e cunta.
 Icil a ben li turn[ée] a
 Pus li cunta k'en Lindesie
 Ot un home de bone vie ;
 Hermites fu, en bois maneit,
 500 S'a lui parlast, il li direit

476. P. feu, eve. 477. P. dit. H. dite. 478. P.(H.) suspecium. 479. P. le fu.
 H. le feu. 480. P. que. H. qui. P. sera. 481. P. quisine. P.H. ardera. 482. P.
 e jo serrai, *omits* en peine e. H. si en erc. 483. P. hors. H. fors. P.(H.) chaudruns.
 484. H. pieles. 486. P. soleit. H. soelt. P.H. feu. 487. P. sei. 488. P. eissi.
 H. issi. 489. P. lentent. H. lessent. P. antant. H. a tant. 491. P. el demein.
 H. lendemain. P. matine. 492. P. A(-ile). P. leve. 493. P. uns chambleins fui
 od lui. H. un chamberlenc qui fut od li. 494. H. *omits* li reis, *inserts* avoit. P.(H.)
 sun. 495. P. dit. H. dist. 496. H. la. P.(H.) turna. 497. H. ad dit. P. quen.
 P. Lindeseie. H. Lindesie. 498. P. out. H. estoit uns homs. H. seinte. 500. P.
 si, parlait. P. si li. H. il lui.

LE LAI D'HAVELOC

Del sunge quei co poreit estre,
 Kar Deus l'amot si fu prestre.
 "Amis," fet ele, "mult te crei ;
 Pur amur Deu [kar] ven od mei.
 505 A cel hermite voil parler
 Si voleies od mei aler."
 Cil li ottrie bonement
 K'od li irra priveement.
 Une chape li afubla,
 510 Al hermitage la mena,
 Al saint home la fist parler
 E s'aventure recunter
 Del sunge dunt ele ot pour
 E de la buche sun seignur
 515 Dunt ele avait le feu veu
 Mes [pas] ne saveit quei co fu.
 Par charité li quert e prie
 K'il la conseil e si li die
 Sun avis e sa volunté.
 520 Li hermites ad suspiré ;
 A Deu comence s'oreisun
 Pus li dist del avisiun.
 "Bele," fet il, "co ke sungas
 De tun mari, tut le verras.
 525 Il est ne[z] de real linage,

501. P. que. H. quei. P. put. H. porroit. 502. H. ert. 504. P.H. omit kar.
 506. H. tu i voels. P. aller. 508. P. ke, priveement. 511. P. seint. P. fit. H. fist.
 512. H. et son corage tut mustrer. 513. P. le. H. del. P. out. 516. P. mais.
 P.H. omit pas. P. que. H. qui. P. feu. 520. P. le. H. li. 521. P. sa reisun. H.
 soreison. 522. P. ad dit. H. dist. 523. P. sungat. 524. P. marri. H. baron.
 H. tu. 525. P.H. ne.

Uncore avra grant heritage,
 Grant gent serra vers lui acline,
 Il serra reis e tu reïne.
 Demande li ki fu sis pere
 530 E s'il [n']ad [ne] sorur ne frere
 E k'il te meint en lur cuntrée ;
 Iluec orras la destinée
 Dunt il fu nez e ki il est
 E Deus del ciel vertu te prest
 535 E il te doint tel chose oïr
 K'a ben te puisse revertir."
 Argentille congé demande,
 Li sainz hom a Deu la comande.
 Ele s'en vet a sun seignur.
 540 Priveement e par amur
 Li demande dunt il ert nez
 E ou esteit sis parentez.
 " Dame," fet il, " a Grimesbi,
 La les laissai quant jo vinc ci.
 545 Grim li peschere, il est mis pere,
 Seburc, co qui, ad nun ma mere."
 " Amis," fet ele, " alum les quere
 Si delivrum al rei la terre
 Dunt il m'ad exilé[e] a tort ;
 550 E vus e mei het il a mort.

526. P. averat. 527. H. fra. P. li. H. encline. 528. P. vus. H. tu. 529. P. ces peres. H. son pierre. 530. P. si. P.H. ad, *omit first* ne. P. soryr. P. freres. H. frere. 531. H. puis si m. P. contree. 532. P. oras, destine. 533. H. *omits* il. H. ert. P. quil. H. dont il. 534. P.(H.) deu. P. vus. H. te. 535. H. *omits* il. 536. P. ke. H. *inserts* a bien *after* puisse. 537. P. A(-ile). 538. P. seinz home. H. et li. 539. P. vait. 540. P. priveement. 541. H. ou. 542. P. nesteit. H. et ou esteit. 543. H. Grimesby. 544. P. lessai. P. vint issi. H. vinc ci. 545. P. pescheres. P. mes. H. mon. 546. P. Sebur. H. Saburc. P. ki, a. H. *inserts* ceo quid *after* ad nun. 547. H. Sire. P. querre. 548. P. deliveruns, tere. 549. P.(H.) exile. 550. H. sil si demoert.

LE LAI D'HAVELOC

Melz voil ailurs estre mendive
 K'entre les mens estre cheitive."
 Cuaran li ad respundu :
 " Dame, tost i serrum venu.
 555 Volunters vus merrai od mei.
 Alum prendre congé al rei."
 Si firent il ben par matin
 [E] pus se mistrent al chemin,
 Les dous fiz Grim od els menerent
 560 A Grimesbi tut dreit alerent.
 Mes li prodom esteit finiz
 E la dame kis ot norriz.
 Kelloc sa fille i unt trovée,
 Un[s] march[e]an[z] l'ot esposée.
 565 Cil saluèrent le seignur
 Si parlerent a lur sorur.
 Il li demandent de lur pere
 E coment le feseit lur mere.
 Co lur dient ke mort esteient
 570 E li enfant grant doel feseient.
 Kelloc apella Cuarant
 Si li demanda en riant :
 " Amis," fet [ele], " par ta fei,
 Cele feme, ki vet od tei,
 575 Ki est ele ? Mult par est bele.

551. P. meus. H. mieuz. 552. P. ke ci. H. que. 553. H. Coaran. P. lui. 554. P. serun. 555. P. voluntiers. 556. P. aluins, cunge. 557. H. omits ben. 558. P.H. omit e. 559. P. od eus (H. omits). H. amenerent. 560. H. Grimesby, sen, omits tut dreit. 561. P. prudome. 562. P. out norriz. 563. P. file, trove. 564. P.H. un marchand. P. out espose. 565. H. il. 567. P. omits li. 569. P. ce. H. ele. H. ad dit. P. morz. H. mort. 570. P. dul. H. doel. 571. H. Coarant. 572. P. demande. H. demanda. 573. P.H. il. 574. P. que vait. H. quest.

LE LAI D'HAVELOC

Est ele dame ou dameisele ? ”
 “ Dame,” fet il, “ reis Edelsi,
 Ke [jo] ai lungement servi,
 La me dona des l'altre jor.
 580 Sa nece est, fille sa sorur, —
 Fille [a] rei est de grant parage,
 Mes il ad tut sun heritage.”
 Kelloc oï ke cil li dist,
 Merveilluse pité li prist
 585 De lui, ki fiz a rei esteit,
 E de la feme k'il aveit.
 Sun seignur avant apella,
 Par sun conseil li demanda
 Ki fiz il fu, s'il le saveit,
 590 Si sun parenté conuisseit.
 Il li respunt : “ Grim fu mi[s] pere,
 Tu es ma soer, cil sunt mi frere,
 Ki sunt od mei ici venu.
 Ben sai ke nostre soer es tu.”
 595 Kelloc li dist : “ N'est pas ainsi.
 Ben le ceile si jol te di.
 Or fai ta feme avant venir
 E tei e li ferai joïr.
 Ki fiz tu es, jo te dirai,
 600 La verité t'en cunterai.

576. P. damaisele. 578. P. ki i ai. H. que ai, *repeats* ai *before* servi. 579. P.H. autre. 580. P. file. 581. P. du. H. *inserts* au roi *after* est. 582. P. il li tout. H. il a tout. 583. P. que. P. dit. H. dist. 584. P. merveille. H. merveilleuse. P. prit. H. prist. 585. H. de ceo que. P. au. H. a. 586. P. quil. 587. H. Haveloc. 588. H. et a c. 589. H. ert. 590. P. conusseit. 591. P. mi. H. mon. 592. P. sorur. H. soer. 593. P. issi. H. *inserts* sunt ci *after* od mei. 594. P. que. P. soeur. 595. P. dit. H. dist. P.H. issi. 596. P. le seil. H. te cieie. 597. P. ore (H. *omis*). P. savenir. H. avant venir. 598. P.H. lui. P. oir. H. joir. 600. P. vus. H. ten. P. conterai.

LE LAI D'HAVELOC

Tis pere fu Gunters li reis,
 Ki sire fu sur les Daneis.
 Odulf l'oscist par traïsun
 Quant sur lui vindrent li Bretun.
 605 Li reis Arthur Odulf ama
 E Denemarche li dona.
 Grim nostre pere s'en fuï,
 Pur tei garir terre guerpi.
 Ta mere fu en mer perie
 610 Kar nostre nef fu asaillie
 D'utlages, ki nus encuntrent,
 Le plus de nostre gent tuerent.
 Nus eschapames de la mort
 Si arivames a cest port
 615 [Mes] vostre dreit nun nus changames
 E Cuaran vus apellames.
 Aveloc as a nun, amis.
 Si volez aler el país,
 Mis sire vus i conduira,
 620 Dras e viande vus dora.
 L'altre en vint, n'ad pas un meis,
 Assez oï ke li Daneis
 Te voldreient entr'els tenir
 Kar mult se fet li reis haïr.
 625 Un riche home [i] ad en la terre,

601. P. tes peres. H. ton pierre. H. Gonter. 602. P. sires. H. sire. 603. P. Odolf.
 P. locut. H. loccist. 604. P. sur li. H. qui tuz jors out le queor felon. 605. P.
 Odolf. H. feffa. 606. H. Danemarche. 607. P.H. vostre. 611. P. de utlage.
 H. de outlaghes. P. que mis. H. qi nus. H. saisirent. 612. H. i perirent. 614.
 H. ci. P. aicest. H. a cest. 615-6. H. omits. 615. P. omits mes. *Instead of 615-6*
 H. reads: Ne vout mon pierre avant aler Ici li estoet demorer Sus cest havenne se
 herberga Sile vendit et achata Mult se pena de toi nurrir Et de celer et de coverir
 Poverement estoit vestuz Qe ne fussez aparceu Nout si hardi en sa maison Qui osast
 dire ton droit non. 617. P. ad. H. avez. 618. P.(H.) se aler volez. H. en vostre.
 619. P. sires. H. mon seignur. P. conduera. H. conduiera. 620. H. dedenz sa
 nef vus passera. 621. P.H. autrer. H. mie. 622. P. oit ce les. 623. P. vodreient.
 H. voudroient. P.H. entre eus. 625. H. prodome. P.H. omit i.

LE LAI D'HAVELOC

Vers ki li reis ad tuz jorz guere ;
 Sigar Estal est apellez,
 A lui loum ke vus alez.
 Cil ad une tue parente,
 630 Ki sovent est pur tei dolente,
 K'ele ne poet novele oïr.
 Si desk'a els poez venir,
 Uncore avrez vos heritez.
 Vos dous vallez od vus menez."
 635 Argentille, quant ele oï,
 Mult durement s'en esjoï,
 A els pramet fei e amur ;
 Si Deus la met a nul honur,
 Mult lur fera grant ben, co dit.
 640 Pus n'i ot gueres de respit.
 Lur nef e lur eire aturnerent,
 Vers Denemarche mer passerent.
 Quant a la terre sunt venu
 E de la nef furent issu,
 645 Li march[e]an[z], kis amena,
 De novels dras les aturna.
 Pus lur enseigna k'il ferunt
 E a quel vile il turnerunt
 [E de] la curt al seneschal
 650 K'um apellot Sigar Estal.

626. H. qui touz jors ad vers li guerre. 627. H. lestal. 628. P. li, que. 629. H. vostre. 630. H. pur vus est sovent. 631. P. put. H. poet. 632. P. desque. P.H. eus. H. porrez. 633. H. vus vos. 634. H. merrez. 635. P. A(-ile). 636. P. esjoï. 637. P. assez. H. a eus. 638. P.(H.) deu. P. les. H. la. 639. P. fra. H. grant bien lur fera. 640. P. i. H. ni. P. out. 641. H. omits e lur eire, *inserts* tost. H. apresterent. 642. H. Danemarche. 643. H. quant il sont el pais v. 644. H. la mier a terre is. 645. P.H. marchant. 646. P. nouveaux. H. bona. 647. P. quil frunt. 648. P.(H.) quele. 649. P. a la curt. H. a la cite. H. del. 650. P. kem apellout. H. que lom appelle. H. lestal.

LE LAI D'HAVELOC

"Aveloc," fet il, "bels amis,
 Quant tu vendras en sun païs,
 A sun chastel va herberger
 E a sa table va manger,
 655 Par charité quer le conrei,
 Ta feme meine ensemble od tei
 Pur la belté k'en li verrunt
 Assez tost te demanderunt
 Ki tu es e de quel cuntrée
 660 E ki tel feme t'ad donée."
 Cil s'en partent del march[e]ant
 Si tenent lur chemin avant.
 Tant unt travaillé e erré
 K'il parvindrent en la cité
 665 La ou li seneschal[s] maneit.
 Al chastel alerent tut dreit,
 Le seignur en sa curt troverent,
 Par charité li demanderent
 Le conrei k'il lur ottreiaist
 670 E ke la nuit les herbergast.
 Li seneschals lur ottreia ;
 En la sale les enveia
 Tant ke fu ore de disner
 E ke tuit alerent laver.
 675 Li sire a sun manger s'asist,

651. P. beus. H. beaus. 657-8 are transposed in H. 657. P. beute. H. beaute.
 659. P. ke. H. qui. P.(H.) quel. P. contre. 660. P. qui. P.(H.) tele. P. femme.
 P. done. 661. P.H. marchant. 662. P. teneit. H. tienen. 664. H. parvienent a.
 665. H. le. P.H. seneschal. 667. H. le riche home. 669. P. cunrei, quil, ottriast.
 670. H. qa. 671. P. seneschal. H. seneschaus. H. le lur granta. 672. H. dedenz
 la, mena. 673. P. tant ke ore fu. H. quant fut houre. P. digner. H. del manger.
 674. P. que. P. tut. H. tuz. 675. H. li prodoms, omits sun.

LE LAI D'HAVELOC

Les treis vallez aseoir fist,
 Argentille lez sun seignur,
 Servi furent a grant honur.
 Li bachelier e esquier,
 680 Ki servirent a cel manger,
 La meschine unt mult esgardée
 E sa belte forment loée.
 A une part [s'en] turnent sis.
 Ensemblē unt lur conseil pris
 685 K'al vallet [s'amie] toldrunt,
 S'il s'en coruce, sil batrunt.
 Quant levé furent del manger,
 Li enfant s'en vunt herberger.
 Li seneschals les fet mener
 690 A un ostel pur reposer.
 Cil, ki la dame unt coveitée,
 Ki mult ert bele e enseignée,
 Apres els vunt en une rue.
 Al vallet s'amie unt tollue.
 695 Od els l'eussent en menée
 Mes Aveloc ad recovrée
 Une hache trenchant e dure—
 Ne sai par cumfete aventure
 Un de cels la tint e porta—
 700 Il li tolli e s'en vengat.

676. P. treiz. P. asser. H. seoir i. P. fit. H. fist. 679. P.(H.) e li es. 680. P. aitel. H. au. 681. H. bele dame, *omits* mult. P. esgarde. 682. P. beute. H. beaute. P. loe. 683. P. *omits* sen. H. se. 685. P. fame. H. sa femme. P.(H.) toudrunt. 686. P. cil. H. sil. P. cil. H. si le. P. batterunt. 687. H. il leverent. 688. H. valez. P. wut. 691. P. qui. P. vait coverte. H. ont coveitee. 692. P. enseigne. 693. P. wut. 694. P. unt samie. H. ont sa femme. 695. P.H. eus. P. tute mene. H. enmenee. 696. H. quant. P. recovere. 698. P. cum par fete. H. par quele. 699. P.H. ceus. 700. P. e il. H. il. H. si sen ala.

LE LAI D'HAVELOC

Les cinc ad tuez e oscis.
 Li uns esteit eschapez vifs,
 Le destre poing li ot colpé.
 Li criz leva en la cité.
 706 Cil s'en turnerent en fuiant,
 A un muster venent corant,
 Pur garisun i sunt entré,
 Suz els unt l'us clos e fermé.
 Aveloc munta en la tur,
 710 Cil del burc l'aseent entur.
 De totes parz l'unt asailli
 E il mult ben se defendi,
 Desur le mur la pere prent,
 Aval la jette vivement.
 715 La novele vint al chastel
 Al seneschal, ki pas n'est bel,
 Ke cil k'il aveit herbergé,
 [Ki] a sa table aveit mangé
 [E] ensemble od lui ot esté,
 720 Cinc de ses homes ad tué
 E li sistes est afolez ;
 E il s'en est[eit] eschapez
 En la tur del muster s'est mis
 E li burgeis l'[i] unt asis ;
 725 Asailli l'unt mult durement,

701. P. les sis ad mort e afolez. H. les cinc en ad tue et occis. 702. H. est. P. omits vifs. 703. P. coupe. H. mes qe le poign out coupe. 704. H. cri lieve. 706. P. une. H. un. H. vindrent. 708. P. pus unt. H. les huis ont sus eus ferme. 710. P. le seent. H. lasseent. 711. P. tutes. 712. H. omits mult. 714. P. le. H. la. H. ignielement. 715. P. wint. 717. P. ke il. 718. P.(H.) e a. 718-9. H. omits here and inserts between 738 and 739. 719. P. omits. H. omits e. H. out. 720. H. out. P. tues. H. tue. 721. P. afoles. 722. P. omits. H. et, est. 724. P.(H.) lunt. P. assis. 725. H. mult par lassailent d.

LE LAI D'HAVELOC

Il se defent mult asprement,
 Les quarels de la tur lur rue,
 Mulz en mahaigne e plus en tue.
 Li riches hom cheval demande,
 730 A tuz ses chevalers comande
 K'od lui algent a la mellée,
 Ki en la cité est levée.
 Tut premerains vet al muster
 E vit celui si ben aider
 735 K'il les fet traire tut arere ;
 Chescuns se dute k'il nel fere.
 Li seneschals ala avant,
 Aveloc vit creu e grant,
 Gent cors ot e bele estature,
 740 Lungs braz [ot] e grant furcheure.
 Ententivement l'esgarda,
 De sun seignur li remembra,
 Del rei Gunter k'il tant ama.
 Anguisusement suspira.
 745 Cil li resembloit de visage
 E de grandur e de corsage.
 Il ad fet remaneir l'asalt
 E defendi ke nuls n'i alt.
 Le vallet ad a reisun mis :
 750 " Ne jette mes," fet il, " amis.

726. H. et il, *omits* mult. 727. P. karanel. H. quareus. 728. P. mut. H. mulz
 P. maim. H. mahaigne. H. *omits* e. 729. P. home. H. senescaus. P. chevals.
 H. cheval. 731. P. ke. P.H. augent. P. melle. 732. P. ke est leve en la cite.
 H. qen la cite est levee. 733. P. premereina. 735. P. ki. H. quil. 736. P. quil
 737. P. seneschals, alad. 738. H. vist Haveloc et c. 739. H. *omits* ot. P. stature.
 H. feture. 740. P. lung. H. lungs. P.H. *omit* ot. P. furchure. H. furcheure.
 741. P. len esg. H. leag. 743. P. qui. H. qil. 746. P. corage. H. corsage.
 747. P. fait. P. remaner. P. les essaut. H. lassaut. 748. H. defent. P. qui.
 H. qe. P. nul maint. H. nuls ni aut. 749. P. resun. 750. P. gette. H. gettez.

- Trives te doin, parole a mei,
 L'acheisun me di e pur quei
 Tu as mes homes ainsi morz.
 A quel de vus en ert li torz ? ”
 755 “Sire,” fet il, “jol vus dirai,
 De ren ne vus en mentirai.
 Quant de vostre manger turnames
 Orainz e al ostel alames,
 Al issir de vostre meisun
 760 Nus pursuïrent li garcun.
 Ma feme me voldrent tolir
 E devant mei od li gisir.
 Une de lur haches saisi
 E mei e li en defendi ;
 765 Verite[z] est ke jos oscis
 Mes sur mei defendant le fis.”
 Li seneschals li respundi
 Quant le surfet de cels oï :
 “Amis,” fet il, “venez avant
 770 Si ne dotez [ne] tant ne quant,
 Dites mei dunt vus estes nez,
 Gardez ke pas nel me celez.”
 “Sire,” fet il, “de cest païs ;
 Co me cunta uns mens amis,
 775 Uns riches hom, ki Grim ot nun,

751. P. trois. H. trives. 752. P. diez. H. di et. 753. P.H. issi. 754. P. e a quel. H. as queius. P. omits en. H. est. 755. P. fait. 756. H. que ja dun mot nen m. 757. H. nus del m. 758. P. omits e. 760. H. me. P. pars. H. pure. 761. P. volerent. H. voudrent. P. tollir. 764. P. lui, omits en. 765. P.H. verite. P. que. P. jo les. H. jeos. 766. P. fiz. H. fis. 767. P. seneschal. H. seneschaus. H. quant il oit. 768. P. ceus. H. le surfet de ceus li respondit. 769. P. ami. H. amis. 770. P.H. omit second ne. 771-2 are transposed in H. 772. P. gardez que. H. ne vus c. 773-6 are different in P., viz. :

Co me cunt uns mens amis
 Ki jo ne en cest pais
 Uns riches home de cest pais
 Grim ot a nun qui me norris.

774. H. ceo, conta, mis. 775. H. un riche home qi G. out a non.

LE LAI D'HAVELOC

Ki me norri en sa meisun.
 Pus ke li regnez fu conquis
 E ke mis pere fu oscis,
 Ensemble od mei e od ma mere
 780 S'en fuï pur la mort mun pere.
 Mult en porta or e argent.
 Par mer errames lungement,
 D'utlages fumes asailli,
 Ma mere oscistrent, jo gari
 785 E li prodom s'en eschapa,
 Ki me norri e mult m'ama.
 Quant nostre nef fu arivée
 En une salvage cuntrée,
 Li prodom meisun i dresca.
 790 Tut premerains s'i herberga,
 Assez nus trova a manger
 Par vendre sel e par pescher.
 Pus i ad tant gent herbergé
 Ke vile est creue e marché ;
 795 Pur co ke Grim l'appellot l'um
 Grimesbi ad la vile a nun.
 Quant jo fui grant, de lui parti,
 A la meisun rei Edelsi
 Fui suz les keus en la quisine.
 800 Il me dona ceste meschine,

776. H. qui, nurrit, maison. 777. H. le regne. 778. P. mi peres. H. mis pieres.
 P. fud. 780. H. menfui, puis. 781. P. mut. H. mult. 783. P. de. H. outlaghes.
 784. P. ossistrent. P.(H.) e jo. P. garri. 785. P. prudome. H. prodoms. P. en.
 H. sen. 787. P. arive. 788. P. savage. H. sauvage. P. contre. 789. P. prudome.
 H. prodoms. P. maisun. H. mansion. H. leva. 790. P. premerains. H. pri-
 merement. P. se. H. si. 792. P. cel. H. siel. 793. P. a. H. tant de. P. her-
 bergez. H. herberge. 794. P. i ad. H. i est. P. e creu (H. omits). P. omits e.
 P. marchez. H. marche. 795. P. appelot. H. lappelloit. P. hom. H. lom. 796.
 H. Grimesby. 797. P. fu. H. fui. 798. P.(H.) le rei. H. Aelsi. 799. P. keuz.
 H. keus.

LE LAI D'HAVELOC

Sa parente ert ; ne sai pur quei
 Il asembla e li e mei.
 Jo la menai fors de la terre.
 Or sui venuz mes amis quere,
 805 Ne sai ou en puisse trover
 Kar jo n'en sai un sul nomer."
 Li seneschals li respundi :
 " Bels duz amis, tun nun me di."
 " Aveloc, sire, sui nomez
 810 E Cuaran fui apellez
 Quant en la curt le rei esteie
 E de la quisine serveie."
 Li riches hom se purpensa,
 En sun corage li membra
 815 Ke si ot nun li fiz le rei,
 Ke Grim en ot mené od sei ;
 Pur poi k'il nel ad coneu
 Mes nepurquant en dute fu.
 Par trives l'ad aseuré
 820 E el chastel od lui mené,
 Sa feme e ses dous compaignuns—
 Il les apelle ses prisuns—
 Mult les fet ben le jor servir,
 La nuit en sa chambre gisir.
 825 Quant li enfant furent colché,

802. P. lui. 803. H. jeo lenmenai. P. hors. H. fors. P. tere. 804. P. venus.
 805. H. *omits en, inserts nul before trover.* 806. H. ne sai nul n. 807. P. seneschal.
 H. senescaus. P. lui. 808. P. beus. H. beaus. H. *omits duz.* P. num. 810. H.
 Coaran. P. fu. H. fui. H. rappelez. 812. P. quissine le. 813. H. li senescaus.
 P. home. 814. H. se. P.H. remembra. 815. P. le f. H. li f. 817. P. quil. P.
 conu. H. coneu. 818. P. mais. 819. P. assuree. 820. H. et el. P. cest. H.
 lad amene. P. mence. 821. P. cil. H. sa. P. femme. P. cumpaignuns. 823.
 P. mut. H. mult. P. fait. H. fist, *omits le jor.* 825. H. *omits furent.* P. choche.
 H. cuche.

LE LAI D'HAVELOC

Un suen privé ad enveié
 Pur saveir, quant cil dormira,
 Si la flambe de lui istra.
 La norrisce, ki l'ot norri,
 830 Soventesfeiz li regeï
 K'en sun dormant li aveneit
 Mes cil feu[s] pas ne li nuseit.
 Aveloc fu durement las,
 Endormiz est eneslepas.
 835 Meïsme l'ore k'il dormi
 De sa buche li feu[s] issi.
 Li chamberlenc[s] ot grant pour,
 Cunter le vet a sun seignur
 E il en ad Deu mercïé
 840 Ke le dreit eir ad recovré.
 Ses escrivains fet demander,
 Brefs escrivre e enseeler.
 Par ses messages les chargea,
 Pur ses amis les enveia,
 845 Pur ses homes, pur ses parenz.
 Al demain asembla granz genz,
 Tuz cels ki el païs maneient
 E ki le rei Odulf haeient.
 Par matin fet les bainz temprer
 850 E celui baigner e laver,

826. P. sen. H. son. H. i ad mande. 827. P. saver. 828. H. *omits* la. P. li
 829-32. H. *omits and reads*: Car ceo avenoit au fiz le roi Que Grim od mene od
 soi. 829. P. quil, norriz. 830. P. soventez fez le. 832. P. meis, feu, miseit. 833.
 H. mult las. 834. P. ignele le pas. H. igniel pas. 835. P. meismes lure. H.
 meisme lur. P. quil. 836. P. la. H. sa. P.H. le feu. 837. P.H. chamberlenc.
 838. P. vait. 840. P. heir. 841. P. escriveins. H. chapeleins. P. mander. H.
 demander. 842. P. enseler. H. enseeler. 843. H. manda. 844. H. et pur, *omits*
 les. 845. P. e. e. H. pur, pur. 846. P. demein. P. grant. H. granz. 847.
 P.H. ceus. P. quil. H. qi el. P. paia. P. manerent. H. estoient. 848. H. *omits* e.
 P. ke. H. qui. P. li. H. le. P. Adolf. P. aeient. H. haoient.

LE LAI D'HAVELOC

De riches dras l'ad revestu
 E sa feme, ki od lui fu.
 En la sale les ad menez.
 Aveloc mult fu effreiez
 855 Pur la grant gent k'il [la] veeit.
 Savez ke li vallez cremeit
 Pur les homes k'il ot oscis
 Ke co fust l'us de cel pais
 K'um le deust ainsi servir,
 860 Baigner, laver e revestir
 E pus juger pur le mesfet
 E avant amener al plet.
 N'est merveille s'il se dota.
 Une grant hache recovra—
 865 El palais pendeit a un croc—
 As dous poinz la tint Aveloc.
 Vivement se voldra defendre
 S'il le voilent juger a pendre.
 Li seneschals le regarda,
 870 Vers lui se trest si l'acolla.
 "Sire," fet il, " n'aiez effrei,
 Cele hache rendez a mei,
 N'en aiez garde, jol vus di,
 Ma lealté vus en afi."
 875 Cil li ad la hache rendue

851. P. di. H. de. 852. P. femme. P.(H.) que. P. fui. 854. H. fut mult. P.H. effreez. 855. H. de la. P. quil. P.H. omit la. P. veent. H. veoit. 856. P. vallet. H. Haveloc mult se cremoit. 857. P. quil. 858. P. fut. H. fust. P. del. H. de cel. 859. P. ke home. H. que lom. P. les dust. H. le deust. P.H. issi. 862. P. mener. H. amener. 863. P. se il. 864. P. un. H. une. P. retrova. H. recovers. 866. P. a. H. as. P. le tint. H. lad pris. P.H. Haveloc. 867. H. vigerousement. P.(H.) vodra. 868. P. volent. H. voelent. P. ou. H. a. 869. P. seneschal. H. seneschaus. 871. P. fait. 873. P. ni naiez. H. neiez. 874. P. leute. H. leaute. 875. H. il.

LE LAI D'HAVELOC

E il la [r]ad al croc pendue.
 A une part seeir le fist,
 Sa feme juste lui s'asist.
 Sun chamberlenc ad apellé,
 880 Le cor le rei ad demandé,
 De sun tresor fet apporter
 Le cor ke nuls ne poet soner.
 Co dit cil k'il [l']assaierunt
 Saveir si soner le porunt.
 885 Cil ki pora soner le cor
 Il li dora sun anel d'or.
 N'ot en la sale chevaler,
 Sergant, vallet nē esquier,
 Ki a sa buche nel mesist :
 890 Unques nuls d'els soner nel fist.
 Li seneschals ad le cor pris,
 Aveloc l'ad en les mains mis.
 "Amis," fet il, "kar assaiez
 Si ja soner le por[i]ez."
 895 Cil li respunt : "Sire, ne sai ;
 Unques mes cor ne maniai.
 Jo n'en voldreie estre gabez.
 Mes, pus ke vus me comandez,
 A ma buche le cor mettrai
 900 E, si jol puis, sil sonerai."

876. P. cil ad al. H. et cil lad au. 877. P. ser. H. le fet seeir. P. fit. 878. P. li. H. qe bien le poent tuz veoir. 879-80. H. *omits*. 879. P. chamberlens. 880. P. corn. 881-2. P. *omits*. 881. H. son, apporter. 882. H. corn, qe. *After* 882 H. *inserts* : Si dreit heir nest de lignage Sur les Danois par heritage. 883. P. quil as. 884. P. saver, porrunt. 883-4. H. *reads* : Savoir si soner le porroit Dist lur quil essaieroit. 885. P. porat. 886. P. dorat. H. dona. 887. P. il ni ot un sul chevaler. H. nout en la sale chevaler. 888. P. serjant, wallet. 889. H. qa. P. la. H. sa. P. messist. H. mist. 890. P. mil. H. nuls. P. deus (H. *omits*). 891. P. seneschaus. P.H. corn. 892. P. meins. 894. H. si le corn soner, *omits* le. P. poez. H. porrez. 895. H. par foi fet il. 896. P.H. corn. 897. P.(H.) vodreie. 898. H. le me. 899. P. corin. H. corn. 900. P. pus. H. jéo le s.

LE LAI D'HAVELOC

Aveloc s'est levez en pez,
 De corner s'est apareillez ;
 Le cor benesquit e seigna,
 Haltement e ben le sona.
 905 Le cor sona par tel air
 K'um le pot mult de loinz oïr.
 A grant merveille le teneient
 Cil ki en la meisun esteient.
 Li seneschals les apella,
 910 A tuz ensemble le mustra.
 "Seignur, pur co vus ai mandez
 Ke Deus nus ad revisitez.
 Veez ici nostre dreit eir.
 Mult en devez grant joie avoir."
 915 Tut premerains se desfubla,
 Par devant lui s'agenuilla,
 Sis hom devint si li jura
 Ke lealment le servira.
 Li altre i sunt apres alé,
 920 Chescuns de bone volunté.
 Pus k'il l'orent recon[e]u,
 Si home sunt tuit devenu.
 La novele fu recuntée,
 Ne pot estre lunges celée.
 925 De totes parz i acoreient

901. H. est. 902. P. aparilez. 903-4. P. *omits*. 903. H. corn. 904. H. hautement
 bien. 905-6. H. *omits*. 905. P. corn, heir. 906. P. ke, pout hom. 907. P.
 reverent. H. tenoient. 908. H. tuit cil qen la sale. 909. P. le seneschal. H. l.
 senescaus. 910. P. lur. H. le. 913. P. issi. H. ci. P. heir. 914. P. mut. H.
 bien. H. devom. P. aver. 915. P. premerement. H. premerain. H. desafubla,
 917. P. ses home. H. sis homs. 918. P.H. leaument. P. li. H. le. 919. P.H.
 autre. H. *omits* i. 920. P. chescun. H. chescuns. 921-2 *are transposed in* H.
 921. P. quil orent. H. quil li eurent. P. reconu. H. receu. 922. P. homes, tuz.
 H. tuit si home sont d. 923. P. recunte. 924. P. cele. 925. P. acorerent. H.
 accuroient.

LE LAI D'HAVELOC

E riche e povre, ki l'oeient,
 De lui firent lur avoé,
 A chevaler l'unt adobé.
 Tant li aida li seneschals,
 930 Ki prodom fu e bons vassals,
 Ke merveillus ost asembla.
 Al rei Odulf par bref manda
 Ke sa terre li delivrast
 E hastivement s'en alast.
 935 Li reis Odulf, quant co oï,
 Mult s'en gaba e escharni ;
 Co dist k'a lui [se] cumbatra.
 De totes parz genz auna
 E li vallez en rot assez.
 940 Al jor ki fu entr'els nomez,
 Quant li ost furent asemblé
 E de bataille conreïé,
 Aveloc vit la gent menue,
 K'en s'aïe esteient venue,
 945 Ne volt [pas] k'il seient oscis.
 Al rei Odulf par ses amis
 Manda k'a lui se cumbatist,
 Cors cuntre cors, e s'il venquist,
 La gent a lui tuit se tenissent
 950 E cum seignur [tuit] le servissent.

926. P. *omits first e.* P. riches, poveres. H. riche, povere. P. quil oieient. H. qui
 loeient. 917. P. furent. H. firent. 929. P. eida. 930. P. ke prudome. H. qui
 prodome. P. bon vassal. H. et leal. 931. P. assembla. 932. P. Odolf. 933. P.
 deliverast. 934. H. *omits e, inserts si before sen.* 935. P. rei Odolf. H. rois Hodulf.
 P. il. H. ceo. 936. P. mut. H. mult. 937. P. dit. H. dist. P. a. H. ga. P.H.
omit se. P. cumbattera. 938. P. assembla. H. auna. 939. P. runt. H. reout.
 940. P. qui feu, eus. H. qentre eus fut. 941-2. H. *omits and reads:* Que li dui
 ost sassembleroient Et ensemble se combateroient. 941. P. les os, assemblez. 942.
 P. conreiez. 943. P. sa. H. la. 944. H. saide esteit. 945. P.H. *omit pas.* P. quil.
 947. P. un. H. lui. 948. P. cil. H. et si le. 949. P. tuz a lui t. H. a lui touz se
 venissent. 950. P.H. *omit tuit.* H. tenissent.

LE LAI D'HAVELOC

Ne sai pur quei cil en moreient,
 Ki nule culpe n'en aveient.
 Li reis nel deigna refuser,
 Tote sa gent fist desarmer
 955 E cil la sue del altre part.
 Mult durement li est[eit] tart
 K'il fussent ensemble venu
 E k'il [l']eust pris ou perdu.
 Ensemble venent li barun,
 960 Requerent sei cume liun.
 Aveloc fu de grant vertu,
 Le rei Odulf ad si feru
 D'une hache, k'il aporta,
 K'il l'abati : pus ne leva.
 965 Iluec l'oscist devant sa gent,
 Ki tuit li crïent haltement :
 "Sire, merci ke ne morum,
 Kar volunters vus servirum."
 Il sunt a lui tuit comandé
 970 E il lur ad tut pardoné.
 Apres cel fet ad receu
 Le regne ki sun pere fu.
 Li Daneis en firent lur rei,
 Tuz ses veisins suzmist a sei,
 975 En la terre bone pes mist.

951. H. se combateroient. 952. P. ke. H. qui. P. cupes. H. culpe. 954. P. fu.
 H. fist. 955. P.H. autre. 956. P. mut. H. mult. P. li est. H. li sembla. 957.
 H. quil soient. 958. P. ke. P.H. eust. H. gaigne ou p. 959. H. vindrent. 960.
 H. requistrent. P. leun. 962. P.H. li. P. Odolf. 963. P. quil. 964. P. abata. H.
 abatit. 966. P. tut. H. touz. P.H. hautement. 967. P. nus ne. 968. H. te.
 969. P. tut. H. cil se sont a lui tourne. 970. P. omits lur. 971. H. cest. P. rescu.
 H. receu. 972. P. ke a. H. qa. 973-4. H. omits. 974. P. vesins. 975. P. per.
 H. pees.

LE LAI D'HAVELOC

E des feluns justise fist.
 Sa feme ama e mult cheri
 [Kar] ele l'ot ben deservi ;
 Mult fu ainceis desesperée,
 980 Mes or l'ad Deus reconfortée.
 Quant Aveloc fu reis pussanz,
 Le regne tint plus de treis anz,
 Merveillus tresor auna.
 Argentille li conseilla
 985 K'il passast [mer] en Engleterre
 Pur sun heritage conquere
 Dunt sis uncles l'aveit jetée
 E a grant tort desheritée.
 Li reis li dist k'il [le] fera,
 990 Quant k'ele li conseiliera.
 Sa navie fet aturner
 E sa gent e sun ost mander.
 Quant sun eire ot apareillé,
 N'i ad pus gueres atargé ;
 995 En mer se met quant oré a
 E la reïne od lui mena.
 Quatre vinz nef e quatre cenx
 Ot Aveloc pleines de genz,
 Armes portent e garisun,
 1000 Vin e forment, char e peissun.

976. H. prist. 977. P. femme. H. sa f. creut et lamoit. 978. P. *omits* kar. P. lout. H. et ele mult bien le servoit. 979. P. anceis, desespere. 980. P. mais ore. P. ad. H. lad. P. reconforte. 982. P. realme. H. regne. P. treiz. H. iiiii. 983. P. merveile. H. merveilleous, i. 984. P.A(-ile). H. comanda. 985. P. quil. P.H. *omit* mer. 987. P. ses. H. son oncle lout engettee. P. jete. 988. H. *omits* e. P. desherite. 989. P. dit. H. dist. P. quil. P.H. *omit* le. 990. H. ceo qele. P. quele. P. conseilera. H. comandera. 991. P. sun. H. sa. 992. P. a sa g. H. ses genz et ses ostz. 993-4. H. *omits*. 994. P. gaires. 995. P. oree. 997. H. *omits* nef. 998. P. od. H. out. P. plein. H. pleines. 999-1000. H. *omits*. 1000. P. pesun.

LE LAI D'HAVELOC

Tant unt nagé e tant siglé
 K'a Carleflod sunt arivé.
 Sur la marine herbergerent,
 Par le païs viande querent.
 1005 Pus enveia li nobles reis
 Par le conseil de ses Daneis
 A Edelsi k'il li rendist
 La terre ke tint Achebrit,
 1010 Ki a sa nece fu jurée
 Dunt il l'aveit desheritée,
 E, si rendre ne li voleit,
 Manda k'il la purchacereit.
 Al rei vindrent li messenger,
 Mult le troverent dur e fer.
 1015 Lur message li unt cunté
 E il en ad ris e gabé.
 Par grant orgoil lur respundi :
 " Merveilles," fet il, " ai oï
 De Cuaran, cel men quistrun,
 1020 Ke jo norri en ma meisun,
 K'il me vent terre demander.
 Mes keus ferai a lui juster
 Od trepez e od chald[e]runs
 [E] od paeles e od plums."
 1025 Li messenger s'en sunt alé

1001. H. out, *omits second tant*. 1002. P. ke a. H. qen. P. Carreflod. H. Carle-
 flure. H. est. 1003. H. le haveue, se. 1006. P. cunseil. 1007. P. ad elsi. H. a
 Alsi. P. quil. 1008. P. que, Athebrit. 1009. P. ke a. H. qa. P. jure. H. donee.
 1010. P. aveit. H. lout. P. desherite. 1011. H. nel v. 1012. H. mande (P. *omits*).
 P. ke ci la. H. quil le. 1014. P. mut. H. mult. 1015. H. quant il li out ceo conte.
 1016. H. out. 1017. P. les. H. lur. H. *omits grant*. 1018. P. it. H. il. 1019.
 H. Coaran. P. quitrun. 1020. P. nori, mesun. 1022. P. frai. 1023. P. trepes.
 H. trepez. P. caudrons. 1025. P. messagers. H. messenger. P.
 alez. H. turne.

LE LAI D'HAVELOC

[E] a lur seignur unt cunté
 Le respuns ke li reis lur fist
 E del terme ke [cil] lur mist
 Quant li dui ost s'asemblerieient
 1030 E ensemble se cumbatreient.
 Dedenz le jor k'il orent pris
 Edelsi manda ses amis
 E tuz icels k'il pot avoir,
 N'en i laissa nul remaneir.
 1035 A Tefort les oz asemblerent
 E del ferir se conreierent.
 Reis Edelsi primes s'arma,
 Sur un cheval ferant munta,
 Ses enemis vet surveeir
 1040 Cumben de gent poent avoir.
 Quant il ad les Daneis veuz
 As enseignes e as escuz,
 Ne li membre des chald[e]runs
 Ne des paeles ne des plums,
 1045 Dunt il les aveit manacez,
 Ainz est arere repeirez,
 Sa gent enseigne k'il ferunt
 E coment il se cumbatrunt.
 Entr'els fu dure la mellée
 1050 Desi ke vint al avesprée.

1026. P. quant a. H. a. P. omits unt. P. cuntez. 1027. P. qui. H. qe. P. rei. P. fit. H. fist. 1028. P. ke lur. H. qeleroi lur. 1029-30. H. omits here, inserting these lines at 941-2. 1029. P. les dous oz, sasemblerent. 1030. P. cumbaterent. 1031. P. quil. 1033. P.(H.) iceus. P. quil pout aver. 1034. H. nul ni. P. laissa, remaner. 1035. P. Tofort. H. Theford. P. asemblerent. 1039. P. surver. H. surveeir. 1040. P. il put. H. poent. P. aver. 1043. H. remembra. P.(H.) caudruns. 1046. H. arere sen est. P. repairez. 1047. P. quil. 1048. P. cumbaterunt. 1049. P.H. entre eus. P.H. meslee. 1050. P. de ci que.

LE LAI D'HAVELOC

Mult i ot des Daneis oscis
 E des altres assez malmis ;
 Il nel poeient mes souffrir
 Quant neire nuit les fist partir.
 1055 Aveloc fu mult irascuz
 Pur ses homes k'il ot perduz ;
 Od ses Daneis s'en fust alez,
 E a sa navie returnez,
 Si la reïne li souffrist.
 1060 Par un engin ke li apprist,
 Dunt il veincreit sun enemi,
 Remist li reis si la creï.
 Tote nuit fist granz pels trencher
 E de dous parz ben aguïser,
 1065 Les morz homes i enficherent,
 Entre les vifs [sus] les drescerent,
 Dous escheles en unt rengées,
 Les haches sur les cols levées.
 Al matin quant il ajorna
 1070 Reis Edelsi s'apareilla,
 Si firent tuit si chevaler,
 Pur la bataille comencer.
 Mes quant il virent cels dela,
 Tote la char lur herica.
 1075 Mult fu hiduse la cumpaigne

1051-2 and 1053-4 are transposed in H. 1051. P. mut. H. mult. P. out. P. omits
 des. H. maumis. 1052. H. occis. 1053. P. poient. H. poeient. H. plus. 1054. H. omits
 quant. P. omits neire. P.H. insert la. P. les fait. H. les fist. 1055. H.
 omits mult. 1056. P. les. H. ses. P. quil. 1057. P. fut. H. fust. 1059. P.
 souffrit. H. souffrist. 1060. H. mes. P. qui (H. omits). P. li pramist. H. ele
 laprist. 1061. P. veincerei. H. veincroit. 1063. P. tute la n. P. ? fit peus. H.
 fist grant peus. 1064. P. omits ben. 1065. H. homes morz. P. i f. H. i enf.
 1066. H. et entre. P.H. omit sus. 1067. P. reengez. H. reengees. 1068. P. cous.
 H. cols. P. drecez. H. levees. 1070. P. saporila. H. primer sarma. 1071. P.
 tut. H. tuit. 1073. P.H. ceus. 1075. P. mut. H. mult.

LE LAI D'HAVELOC

Des morz k'il virent en la plaigne ;
 Encuntre un home k'il aveient,
 Del altre part set en v[e]ieient.
 Al rei diënt si conseiller
 1080 Ke bataille n'i ad mester :
 Li Daneis sunt de gent creu
 E il ad mult des suens perdu ;
 A la dame rende sun dreit
 E face pes ainz ke pis seit.
 1085 Li reis ne pot par el passer,
 Le plet li estut gr[a]anter.
 Par le conseil de ses privez
 Al rei Daneis s'est acordez,
 Par fiance l'aseura
 1090 E salfs ostages li bailla,
 Tote la terre li rendi
 K'Achebrit tint quant il vesqui.
 De Hoilant tresk'en Colecestre
 Furent Daneis seignur e mestre.
 1095 Mes Aveloc sa feste tint
 A la cité quant il [i] vint ;
 Des baruns recut les homages
 Si lur rendi lur heritages.
 Apres cel fet reis Edelsis
 1100 Ne vesqui mes ke quinze dis.

1076. P. quil. P. champaigne. H. plaine. 1077. H. contre. P. quil. 1078. P.H. autre. P. en veient. H. estoient. 1079. P. conseiller. 1080. P. bataille. 1081. P. cruz. H. creuz. 1084. P. einz, piz. 1085-6 are transposed in H. 1085. P. pout. H. car il, poet. 1086. P. esteit. H. estoet tut. P.H. granter. 1087. P. conseil. 1088. P. a. H. au. 1090. P. ses. H. saufs. H. dona. 1092. P. ke. H. tant come il vesquit. 1093. P. Hoillant. H. Holande. P. tresque a. H. desken. P. Colesestre. H. Gloucestre. 1095. P. meis. 1096. P.H. omit i. 1097. P. rescut. 1099. H. enpres. H. cest. P. Edelsi. H. Aelsis. 1100. P. une. H. mes. P. die. H. dis.

LE LAI D'HAVELOC

Il n'ot nul eir si dreitur
 Cum Aveloc e sa muiller.
 Li barun les unt receuz
 E citez e chastels renduz ;
 1105 Aveloc tint en sa baillie
 Nichole e tote Lindesie.
 Vint anz regna e si fu reis,
 Assez conquist par ses Daneis.
 1110 [E] mult fu de lui grant parlance.
 Li ancïen en remembrance
 Firent un lai de sa victoire
 Ke tuz jorz mes seit en memoire.

Si finist Aveloc.

1101. P. volt. H. nout. P. mil. H. nul. H. droitur. 1103. P. rescuz. 1104.
 P.H. chasteus. 1106. P. Nicole. H. Nichole. P. Lindeseie. H. Lindesie 1107.
 P. furent. H. fut rois. 1108. P. asez. P. conquist. H. conquist. P. ces. H. ses.
 1109. P.H. omit e. P. mut. H. mult. 1110. H. par. 1111. P. victorie. H.
 victoire. 1112. H. omits mes. P. meis. H. en soit. P. memorie. H. memoire.
 After 1112 H. adds: Ceo fut le lai de Coarant Qui mult fut prouz et vaillant.
 Explicit Haveloc.

NOTES

GAIMAR : HAVELOC

1. In the Royal MS. the opening is somewhat different, *viz.* : Ca en arere el livere bien devant Si vus en estes remembrant Avez oi com faitement Costentin tint apres Artur tenement. The first of these lines raises difficulties. If it refers to the author's arrangement of his materials, then it implies that the matters summarised in vv. 1-14 were not those last dealt with by Gaimar in the first part of his work, *viz.* his translation of Geoffrey of Monmouth. Whether this actually was so we cannot determine, but the summary itself does not suggest any considerable interval between it and the full description. Further, as these four lines are a syntactic unit in R., as the last is most decidedly not due to the author, and as the first, though not quite so unmetrical, is much more so than is usually the case in Gaimar, we must conclude that this opening is due to a copyist and refers to the arrangement of some particular MS., though, apparently, not to R. As a result of this rejection the numbering of my text is two lines in advance of that of the Rolls edition.

15. *une achaisun*. As this line is clearly parallel to v. 31, and as the latter allusion is to a cause, not to an account, of the change of name, the reading of D.L. cannot be correct in either instance.

18. *Galweien*. The close parallel in the "Etoire des Engleis" has already been pointed out (*v. supra*, Intro. § 1), but the variants of the first name in the second line of each couplet are interesting, *viz.* :

(18)	D. Galwein.	L. Galwais.	R. Gawaleis.
(3526)	D. Galwains.	L. Galweneis.	R. Gawaleis.

There can be no doubt but the same name was present in both passages ; as 'Gawaleis' contains so familiar an element it is unlikely that D.L. derive from it ; rather they represent more nearly the original reading. Some designation of the inhabitants of Galloway suits the context admirably, and the form adopted in the text requires the minimum of change from the MS. base.

21. *creisseient*. Though the reading of R. would give a metrically correct line, the parallel adduced (*v. supra*, Intro. § 1) and Gaimar's similar use of 'creistre' on other occasions have led me to prefer the reading adopted.

35-8. Though these lines, in conjunction with vv. 521 ff., clearly derive from Geoffrey of Monmouth (xi. 2), their purpose is to give a motive for the struggles obscurely alluded to by Gaimar in his subsequent Wasing episode (*v. supra*, Intro. §§ 2, 5) rather than for the historical Danish invasions. As the plea of justification ascribed by him to the Danes is long residence in Britain prior to the advent of the English, it would seem that Fräulein Brandenburg ("Galfrid von Monmouth und die frühmittelenglischen Chronisten") goes too far when she says (p. 18): Erst Gaimar stellt einen ursächlichen Zusammenhang zwischen diesem Ereignis [*sa* death of Aschillius] und späteren Zuständen her. . . . Für diese Kämpfe [*sc.* English and Danes] suchte G. offenbar eine Erklärung. Er fand sie in dem er . . . spätere Zustände durch Taten Arthurs begründet sein liess.

39. Usually such appeals to well-known authorities are no guarantee that the writer made use of, or was even acquainted with, their works, but there is slight justification for believing that such is not quite the case here. In his "Etoire" (v. 2511) Gaimar makes use of an unusual word—*cyules*—which is connected with a shipname (*cyula*, *ciula*) found in Gildas and Nennius only; this suggests that he knew one, or both, of their works, but in view of the mediaeval confusion of the two and of the absence of any unmistakeable allusion to either in his work it is impossible to be certain which he knew. Needless to say, only the assertion of the existence of under-kings is supposed to be vouched for by this appeal to authority.

40. *trovai escrit*. If, following D.L., we read 'en la geste qu'il escrist,' then the phrase would be a continuation of v. 39, and, the next line being indubitably a dependent clause, we should be left with an incomplete sentence; the reading adapted from R. satisfies all syntactic requirements. For the copyists of all three MSS. the *s* is mute before *t*, and has possibly been introduced from the preceding rime; further, *la* and *sa* are frequently confused in our MSS.

NOTES

47. *li altre*. All three MSS. read *alires*, but there appears to be no undisputed instance of its use by Gaimar, hence the adoption of the etymological form with hiatus (*cf.* v. 1551: Suephart *li altre* ot a nun).

49. *Rotelant*. Although there is no objection on phonological grounds to the reading of D.L.—*orient*—the fact that the other boundaries are so definite, and that the parallel passage in the “Lai” (v. 200) mentions Rutland, is my justification for preferring R.

66. *nurrid*. In verbs conjugated with ‘être’ Gaimar does not always observe the requirements of strict grammar where case is concerned, but he is careful to secure agreement in gender of the past participle; hence the departure from D.L. and acceptance of R.

94. *chevel*. Though the adverb occurs frequently in the locution *tenir chevelment* (=to hold in chief), *e.g.* vv. 4323–5: Danes *li reis la tint en chief* Modred *dunad Certiz sun fief Il ne tint unques chevelment*, the corresponding adjective appears to be less common and was not familiar to all the copyists of Gaimar’s work. It is found three times in his work—in the present line, which may be translated ‘she had no near relative,’ though *chevel* has a feudal implication absent from the modern phrase; in vv. 2285–6: *Entre els aveit set reietels Cil dui erent sur tuz chevels* (=supreme); and in v. 2595: *Les chevels humes baruns* (=principal). The formation of the adverb and its western form *chevalment* (*cf.* Guernes de Pont S. Maxence, “S. Thomas,” v. 2431) show that we have to do with the suffix *-alem*.

98. *mesmariee ad*. It is not sufficient, for the success of Edelsi’s plan, to marry off Argentille quickly, which seems to be the idea expressed by D.: *sa niece senes mariad*. Rather, as emphasised in vv. 101–2 and in vv. 170–2, and also by the importance of Edelsi’s mistake concerning Cuaran (vv. 159–62), he seeks an unequal marriage in order to put Argentille to shame and to prevent her claiming her inheritance. This is expressed by the verb ‘*mesmarier*,’ common to L. and R., but, as neither gives a metrically correct line, the slight modification of their readings adopted is necessary.

135-6. This couplet is found only in R., and is not absolutely essential to the context. Nevertheless, as it imparts a certain balance to the sentence, and is not foreign to Gaimar's style, and as its omission in D.L. may be accounted for by the repetition of the same rime words in vv. 133-4 and in vv. 139-40 (omissions due to this cause must have been fairly frequent in the common ancestor of D. and L.) I have retained it, though still regarding it as somewhat doubtful.

137-50. This passage should be compared with the account of Arthur's liberality in the Harley fragments (Imelmann, "Layamon: Versuch über seine Quellen," pp. 111 ff.), which almost certainly derive from Gaimar's lost "Etoire des Bretuns." In the fragment he is expanding hints from Geoffrey of Monmouth (ix. 1) and, apparently, has not quite succeeded in making the conception his own. In the episode he takes up the same idea, expressing it with greater ease, and uses it to display Haveloc's inherent nobility of character and, by the contrast with his menial position, to foreshadow the revelation of his royal birth. Thus I cannot quite agree with Imelmann (*op. cit.*, p. 114) when he says: Hier aber, am Anfang der Haveloc-Episode, passt die Beschreibung nicht so gut wie in H[arley fragment], wo sie sich auf Arthur bezieht.

160. *venuz*. Undoubtedly the correct reading, though preserved only in R. That of D.—*ne nuls*—is an obvious corruption, but is due apparently to his predecessor, as L. seems to have found the line unintelligible and to have recast it entirely.

164. *la terre A*. As Adelbriht is already dead, we must understand 'in order to take A.'s land' rather than, following the more usual construction, 'in order to take the land from A.' (*cf.* vv. 4006, 4015: A la maisun Elftroed alad—where it is clear from the context that E. cannot be the subject of the verb but is the appositional genitive).

185. *la niece al rei*. The construction is the same as in vv. 167, 193, *i.e.* genitival.

195. *la mer*. As it is clear from subsequent indications in the text that the events of the dream take place on the seashore, the reading of R.—*mer*—must be correct, as against that of D.L.—*veie*.

210. *quer*. The reading of R. fits the context better, and there is no apparent reason for his having made any alteration, whereas the reading of D.L.—*cors*—is explicable as dittography.

212. *chaid jus*. This expression occurs several times in Gaimar, e.g. 'jus chaid mort' (v. 2805; cf., too, vv. 2664, 4041); the riming of *s* and *z* is also known to him (cf. vv. 179-80). There is, therefore, no reason to reject this reading in favour of R.

233. *leons*. It is clear from the context that the reading of D.L.—*urs*—cannot be correct, as the same animals are referred to as in v. 227 (cf., too, Lai vv. 433-4).

245. *avisium*. As noted by Vising ("Etude sur le dialecte a.n. du 12e. siècle"), variation in the metrical value of the ending *-ium* is frequent in Gaimar. Here, and at v. 259, it is monosyllabic; at v. 261 and v. 288, on the contrary—and, as more often happens in our author—disyllabic.

248. *que li*. All the MSS. agree in the reading *quele*, but, although Gaimar is not averse from the use of hiatus, it would in this case be rather unusual, even for him; so, as some mention of the person addressed seems to be required, I have made the slight change indicated.

260. *vend*. The non-agreement of the past participle is quite normal here, as it refers to two nouns, each in the singular (cf. Foulet, "Petite syntaxe de l'ancien français," § 117).

263. *espelst*. The form is unusual, but is, I think, a preterite, rather than a present, tense (cf. Tanqueray, "Evolution du verbe en anglo-français," p. 112), and represents a confusion of *espelt* < *espeleir* (291) = to mean and *espu(n)st* < *espundre* (cf. *espus*, 3238) = to expound. The former is not uncommon in Gaimar, and appears to be used as a preterite in v. 2652: *Que co espelt e qu'ele aveit*; and the two verbs are confused by one scribe at least elsewhere (v. 5372: *Ne que cel signe espeleit*—L. reads, incorrectly, *espunt*). Nevertheless, as there are no variant readings, the form is probably due to the author.

293-4. Though omitted by D.L., the couplet is essential to the context, for otherwise Haveloc would ignore completely Argentille's request. As it is a prominent feature of Gaimar's style to use a parenthetic 'fait il; fait ele' in introducing direct speech

(*cf.* vv. 249, 305, 309, etc.), I have adopted that form here, and in v. 337, in preference to the *dist* of R.

296. *nient*. Usually dissyllabic in Gaimar, but the MSS. agree in making it a monosyllable here, a usage not unknown to our author (*cf.* Vising, *op. cit.*).

323. *dist*. In D.L. *dist* and *dit* are not infrequently confused (*cf.* v. 264), and in a similar context (*cf.* v. 254) Gaimar observes the congruence of tenses.

334. *qu'ele ert sa muillier*. As a result of damage to the MS. (*cf.* Intro. § 6), only the last three words of this line are left in R., and both this and the next four lines are omitted in D.L. The context seems to indicate some anxiety on the part of Algier as to the status of Haveloc's lady companion, and to require some such phrase as that supplied.

335. *mult fud pensifs*. The commencement of this line is also damaged in R., but sufficient traces of the lower parts of the letters remain to suggest *mult* and to make *pensifs* almost certain.

338. *descuwerum*. 344. *descuvereit*. For the metathesis⁴ and reduction of *r* see Tanqueray, *op. cit.*, p. 714.

360. *Punt pris . . a raisuner*. As there is no indisputable example in Gaimar of *prendre* (with the meaning 'begin') followed by the pure infinitive), we must, in view of the agreement of the MSS., read as in the text. We should expect *araisnier* or, at least, *araisuner* (*cf.* Intro. § 2), but whether we are to assume with Burghardt ("Einfluss des Englischen auf das Anglonormannische," pp. 29, 32) reduction of two successive *a*'s, or to suppose confusion of two constructions—'prendre a raisnier' and 'mettre a raisun'—must remain undecided. Here, as generally elsewhere in Gaimar, the construction indicates that the second action does not commence until the completion of the first, and it is, therefore, scarcely a periphrasis for the finite verb, as maintained by Burghardt.

371. *esmes*. According to Tanqueray (*op. cit.*, p. 176), the spelling with *s* persists throughout the 12th century; he ascribes the form with *ei* in Fantosme (v. 495) to the scribe (of MS. D.), remarking previously (p. 160) that *esmes* is archaic already in this century, and may therefore be attributed to the authors rather than to the

NOTES

scribes. Certainly it is very unlikely to have been substituted for *sumes* in the present instance, and, as the spelling with *ei* appears to be posterior to Gaimar, we may credit him with the older form.

372. *cuneumes*. There does not appear to be any reason which would compel us to adopt *conussumes* from R. The preterite seems particularly apt to the context, suggesting that the lack of knowledge of any other relations was the reason why Haveloc had returned to Grimsby. The rime is no objection, as we find *g : u* not infrequently in Gaimar. Tanqueray (*op. cit.*, p. 162) seems doubtful about accepting *conussumes* as due to the author, but it should be noted that he gives the wrong reference, the form in question not being found at all in the epilogue to the "Estoire"; consequently, the last sentence on the page (*loc. cit.*) is irrelevant.

380. It has already been pointed out (*v. supra*, Intro. § 9) that this line is metrically faulty; a possible correction would be to omit *co*, but all the MSS. agree in its insertion. (For this use of *que* see Ritchie, "Recherches sur la syntaxe de la conjonction 'que,'" pp. 70-1, and note the occurrence of the construction at vv. 217-8 of our text.)

387-90. The omission of these lines in D.L. is accounted for by the similarity of ending of vv. 386 and 389 (*cf.* vv. 135-6 note).

399-400. Though found only in R., this couplet adds something essential to the disclosures made by Kelloc, for without it Haveloc would not know from what country he came (*cf.* v. 407). It is, therefore, to be received into the text.

404. *vesquid*. The reading of D.L.—*fud vif*—gives a rime not found elsewhere in Gaimar; therefore I have preferred that based on R.

408-15. This motive for Arthur's invasion of Denmark differs from that given subsequently (vv. 511-4), though the two are not absolutely incompatible. As the whole Arthurian connection is late, and probably due almost entirely to Gaimar himself, it follows that the tribute-motive—which derives from Geoffrey of Monmouth, as is shown in part by the close parallel between the battle with Guntier (vv. 411-4) and that with Riculf (ix. 11)—is less likely to belong to the original story than the rebellion-motive which underlies vv. 511-4. At the same time, this earlier one has

probably been modified by Gaimar to fit in with his chronological framework (*cf.*, too, Brandenburg, *op. cit.*, pp. 20-1). In the historical event which is assumed to underlie the Guntier-Odulf section of the Haveloc story Eadulf of Bamburgh succeeds to part of Northumbria after the death of its king, Gudred. The change from a peaceful to a forcible succession in the popular tradition may have been helped by confusion with subsequent events; thus, in the year 1016 a certain Eadwulf succeeded to the earldom of Northumbria, after the violent death of Uhtred, and later, in 1041, another Eadwulf of Northumbria was killed by Siward. Once this change took place we have the situation developed in vv. 511-4, though it is possible that the calling in of outside help may be due to Gaimar working to create a situation in Denmark parallel to that described by Geoffrey of Monmouth (*loc. cit.*) in Norway; obviously, Arthur cannot help Haveloc to his kingdom as he did Lot; therefore, if anyone, it must have been the other party to the struggle, *viz.* Odulf, whom he helped.

439. *feimes*. Tanqueray (*op., cit.* p. 642) attributes this form to the scribes, but it is common to all the MSS., and the presence of *garesimes*, attested by the metre and by the agreement of the MSS., in the rime would have helped to maintain *fesimes* had that been the form used by the author.

448. *l'um*. Though this line is incomplete in D., it seems probable that there, as in L., the line would only be metrically correct if we assumed hiatus after *que*; but in similar circumstances in v. 64 all MSS. agree in avoiding it by the use of *l'um*: hence its adoption here.

456. *sot*. In view of the orthographic confusion of *e* and *o* in the MSS. (*cf.* onur-enur D. 478), I have replaced the present by the preterite to avoid the sudden change of tense.

460. *chalengissiez*. We should normally expect the termination *-ez*, but it seems impossible to determine whether we have here an instance of sound-confusion (*ie* : *e*), or of suffix-substitution (*-iez* for *-ez*).

469. *querez*. As the first hemistich in D.L. is an undoubted ditto-graphy, it is probable that *quidex*, in the same line, is not the original reading.

NOTES

483-4. The fact that in D.L. v. 485 is metrically faulty necessitates the adoption of the reading of R., and this seems to involve the retention of the previous couplet found only in that MS.

512. As this line is hypermetrical in D.L., I have adopted the reading of R., which also improves the sense somewhat.

531. Though there is no gap in D.L. corresponding to that in R., it is probable that there is here a short lacuna in which some reference would be made to the arrival at their quarters of Haveloc and his company.

538. Neither the reading of R., *viz.* : Ken une meison trova pendant, nor that of D.L., *viz.* : Quil trovad en la maisun (D.) gisant (L.) pendant, is metrically correct, but by a slight change of the former reading a satisfactory line is obtained. 'Une' is probably due to R. following on the lacuna indicated by him, whereas D.L. keep 'la' referring to a house previously mentioned by the author, though not by their actual copy. The agreement of L.R. in the rime-word necessitates the rejection of 'gisant' in D.

568. It is clear from the context that the reading adopted from R. must be the correct one. In v. 545 we are told that Haveloc took into the church 'ses vadlez e sa muiller,' and in v. 567 that from there Sigar took into his hall Haveloc and 'sa femme e ses cum-painz'; as yet they have no friends in Denmark and have just been rescued from a siege, so that there can have been no increase in their strength. Therefore v. 568 must be explanatory of the preceding line, as in R., and not additional to it, as in D.L. Further, the author's insistence on the number of Haveloc's followers, *viz.* two, is noticeable.

610. Though the reading of D. is metrically correct, the agreement of L.R. shows that it is not original. Having omitted 'sire' at the beginning of the line, the scribe obtained his rime, and metre, by introducing 'vadletun.' For the imperfect rime of the text *cf.* vv. 939-40 (nun : idunc).

661-4. The MSS. diverge considerably in their readings at this point, but both in D. and L. we have obvious attempts to improve an already corrupted passage; the omission of 663-4 in D. points to the repetition of 'Sigar' in R. as original, and the presence of 664 in L. as well as in R. confirms the authenticity of the couplet.

685-6. The agreement of L.R. shows that v. 686 is original; the line completing the couplet in R. is metrically faulty, whereas that in L., supported by D., is regular; therefore we must conclude that the couplet as preserved by L. is original.

693-6. In D.L. the last line is unmetrical, and is apparently a correction designed to supply a predicate to v. 695 left standing by the omission of the previous couplet. In v. 706 we have in R. the same word, *meienel*, as in v. 694, and here, too, it does not appear familiar to D.L. It is, therefore, not unreasonable to suppose that such was the case in the earlier instance, and that, as this could easily be done, they (or, rather, their common ancestor) omitted the couplet in which it occurred.

706. The reading of D. is obviously introduced by that copyist, as is shown by the agreement—except for the last word—of L.R. The peculiar form in L., *viz.* 'mencebuel,' is probably due to his reading a few letters from the preceding or succeeding page through a hole in his 'Vorlage' at this point.

711-2. In the second line *asaied* would appear to be a dittography, but, as the same idea apparently figured in the original of the "Lai d'Haveloc" (v. 903), this does not seem to be a sufficient ground for rejecting the couplet, although it is only found in R.

715. *sun per.* This seems preferable to the reading of D.L., *viz.* 'suner,' for the passage refers to the quality of the sound produced quite as much as, if not more than, to the fact of the horn being sounded.

725. *humes.* There are two acknowledgments of Haveloc's position: (a) by Sigar and his personal retinue (vv. 725-8) and (b) by the disaffected barons (vv. 729-32); these have been confused by D.L., hence their variant *baruns* in v. 725.

732. *receuz.* As D.L. do not agree in the readings, and as hiatus *e* is regularly maintained by Gaimar, I have followed R. The parallel passage in the Harley fragments (Imelmann, *op. cit.*, p. 112): 'Li bretun qui i ierent venu Si hume sunt tu[it] deueni] A seinur lunt tuit receu' should be noted. For some reason or other, exception is taken by D.L. to this use of 'recevoir' on another occasion, *viz.* v. 2349: 'A Dorewic fud (R.) receuz (D.) reconeud (L.) reconnud.'

743. *i ot.* The reading of D. is an obvious dittography, but as *del pais* here seems to be intended as a parallel to the same expression in v. 747, and as this is obscured in R., I have followed the reading of L.

755. *tint.* As Gaimar's usual expression is 'tenir feste,' I have followed R. in preference to D.L.

766. The reading of R. must give the correct order as shown by the context, which calls for an all-day battle with cessation of hostilities at nightfall.

767-8. In D.L. the second line is metrically faulty, and the divergence of readings makes it still more necessary to follow R. ; further in v. 767 some expression parallel to *mort ruez* is required, and this, too, we obtain by preferring R.

789-90. This couplet, found only in R., is rather weak but must correspond to something in the original, even if not preserving the author's exact words, for otherwise it is far from clear, at first, to whom exactly vv. 791-2 refer.

794. For this line and that parallel to it in the "Lai d'Haveloc" (v. 1078) cf. Intro. § 4.

795. As the reading of D.L. is metrically faulty, that of R. is to be preferred.

797. *rended.* 798. *faced.* The hiatus in the former line calls for no comment, as it is well attested in Gaimar (cf. Tanqueray, *op. cit.*, p. 84). The variants here and the haphazard retention or insertion of the dental in the MSS. (cf. D.L. *munted* 285, D. *saced* 348, R. *menied* 383) shows that the scribes were uncertain of its value, but that it was known to, and most probably in many instances used by, the author. Generally speaking, I have only maintained the dental in the orthography (*v. supra*, Intro. § 10) in rime or in hiatus, but, in view of the readings here, it seems advisable, even though it appears inconsistent, not to differentiate between the ending in these two instances.

813. *sa amie.* There does not seem to be any other instance of the non-elision of the feminine possessive in Gaimar, but, as the use of the masculine form in its stead is equally unknown to him, as he is distinctly tolerant of hiatus, and as it is by no means certain from the context that he means to assert that Haveloc held the kingdom in right of his wife, it is best to keep the MSS. reading.

LE LAI D'HAVELOC

10. *vilain*. In the reading of H.—*mauveis*—we have an example of the modernising tendency of that scribe to which reference has already been made (*cf.* Intro. § 6).

21. If, following H., we introduce 'que,' then we have one of the few instances in this text of *si* connecting two subordinate clauses, but there is no clear example of the omission of the relative in similar circumstances to justify its rejection here.

27. Both MSS. insert 'que' after *tens*, but this cannot be right, for its retention would make Gunter the subject of *passa* in v. 28, and therefore his own opponent in v. 31.

33. Both MSS. insert *i* before *fu*, but elsewhere in our poem *meismes* is always trisyllabic (*cf.* vv. 103, 275).

70. *dous*. In neither of our two versions of the story is there any other precise indication of Haveloc's age at the time of the flight, and neither is quite clear as to the extent of his personal recollection of the events, though they incline rather to his having learned them later in life. This would favour the lower figure—with which v. 102 is on the whole more consistent—and I have therefore adhered to P., though I recognise that the miscopying of the higher as the lower figure is rather more probable than the reverse.

75-6. Though this couplet is found only in H., and is without a parallel in Gaimar, there does not appear to be any other reason for rejecting it, especially as the original had evidently not undergone a final revision (*cf.* Intro. § 6).

85-6. This couplet is undoubtedly corrupt in P. (*cf.* Intro. § 4), but its reading—*preisseit*—points to the sigmatic form of the imperfect subjunctive as the author's, a conclusion which is supported by v. 889, where P. reads *messist* and H. *mist*.

93. *merra*. This verb rather than 'mettre' seems to be required by the context. Both MSS. agree in treating the verb as a future, and this is explicable as an anticipation by the author of an event subsequently to be related, *viz.* in v. 101.

117-8. That this couplet has a close parallel in Gaimar has already been noted (*cf.* Intro. § 4), but this is not the only reason for accepting it as authentic. The threefold repetition of the account

NOTES

of the flight is a feature of the "Lai," and their close agreement in detail is clearly intentional; as the rejection of this couplet would leave an important incident unmentioned in the first, though alluded to in the subsequent, accounts, we must conclude that it has been omitted by H., not that it has been inserted by P., and follow the reading of the latter.

119-20. As in the second line P. is metrically faulty, and as the accusative is found with 'remaneir' used impersonally, it is preferable to follow the reading of H.

137. *sot*. No light is thrown on the meaning of this word by the context, as there are inconsistencies in the author's conception of Grim's status. H. has undoubtedly understood it as from 'soleir,' though his reading, which makes the line hypermetrical, cannot be correct. Similar expressions in Gaimar appear to represent 'saveir,' though early confused with 'soleir' (*cf.* vv. 2985-6: En l'autre eschiele cuntes ot, Sidroc li vielz qui ferir sot; v. 3448: Bien sot ses enemis pleissier; and v. 2614: Pur uthlages la sot garder (R. reads *soleit*), where the ambiguity of sense appears, as also in vv. 455-6). This is the position in the line under discussion, hence, though the rime *sot* : *ot* is due to the author, it cannot be alleged in support of the vocalisation of / in the "Lai."

153-6. The construction is: Ainz k'il eust gueres d'eé, il ne trovast (=conditional perfect) home [tel] ke li enfes nel abatist (=conditional perfect) si [li hom] volsist luter encuntre lui.

163. *alques*. Here used as an adverb, the object of 'entendre' being *afetement*.

176. *avoir quere*. The reading of P. is metrically faulty, and does not make sense; that of H. fulfils both requirements.

199. This line is, I take it, a parenthetical explanation of *Lindesie* in v. 198.

201. *alsi*. As P. has always the trisyllabic form of the king's name, and as it is not certain, though probable, that H. intends *alsi* to be read as a name, the reading adopted is indicated.

207-8. Should these two lines be transposed to avoid the awkward break in the construction?

234. As they stand, neither MS. gives a metrically correct line, but such is obtained by a slight rearrangement of the earlier, and the line is then parallel in structure to v. 323.

246. *le vit*. Nowhere else in the "Lai" is 'que' omitted where the subject of two subordinate clauses differs; hence I have followed H.

250. *de co serveit*. This is clearly the correct reading, for the enumeration of Haveloc's capabilities ends with v. 248 and this next couplet gives the return for his services as scullion.

261-2. It has already been pointed out (*cf.* Intro. § 4) that this statement appears to be due to a misunderstanding of Gaimar (v. 103).

265 ff. In both our texts reference is made to Haveloc's prowess as a wrestler, but there is a distinct difference in the circumstances under which it is exercised. Gaimar evidently imagines him using his powers in self-defence, or in friendly rivalry, among his fellow-servants; the author of the "Lai" pictures him being matched against others by the king and his court, and giving public displays to provide them with sport. Though the change may be entirely the invention of the author, it seems just possible that he may have been induced to make such a change by an acquaintance with another work, *viz.* Gerbert de Montreuil's *Perceval* continuation (ed. Miss M. Williams, *Class. franc. du m. age*). If we turn to the account of Tristan's prowess as a fencer and as a wrestler, we cannot but notice a certain resemblance in phraseology (*cf.* vv. 3711-8:

Et quant ce vint a l'escremir,
Nus ne se puet a lui tenir;
Et quant ce venoit au luitier,
N'avoit en la cort chevalier
Que a la terre n'abatist
Et tout coi soz lui ne tenist,
Ensaiez en fu des plus prous
Et il les abateit trestous).

That this may be more than a mere coincidence seems possible in view of other similarities of diction, *viz.* *Perceval*, vv. 589-90: Quant Perchevaus ces mos oï, Mult durement s'en esjoï; and also the same expression and rime at vv. 1201-2, 3645-6; with which

compare Lai, vv. 635-6 (a passage due solely to our author); Perceval, vv. 2165-6: Sire, fait il, jel vous dirai, Que ja de mot n'en mentirai; and also the same rime at vv. 4935-6; with which compare Lai, vv. 755-6 (though there is also resemblance to Marie de France—*cf.* Intro. § 4); Perceval, vv. 698-700: A Percheval molt abeli Ce qu'il vit une hache pendre A un croc, s'est alez le prendre; and v. 752: A deus mains a le hache prise; with which compare Lai, vv. 864-6 (again a passage due to our author, *cf.* Intro. § 4). I should not like to assert definitely that the writer of the "Lai" made conscious use of Gerbert's work—the probable direction of any borrowing which may have occurred—but these points of contact, as well as those with Marie de France already discussed in the introduction and that with the "Lai de Guingamor" (*v. infra*, v. 583 note), suggest that he was rather widely read in the romances of his time, and that much of their phraseology was in his mind when he was engaged in recasting the story of Haveloc.

275-8. In his subsequent interview with the hostile lords Edelsi is clearly made to refer to his personal acquaintance with Haveloc's prowess as a wrestler (*cf.* vv. 279-80 and vv. 368-70), but of such there is no previous mention, unless we accept vv. 275-6. The expression 'tenir a grant merveille' is elsewhere used by our author (*cf.* vv. 77, 307), which favours the reading of P. rather than otherwise; there is no undoubted example of his use of the analogical imperfect in the first conjugation, which tells against the reading of H.; but if, as we must, we follow P. in this line, we must also accept vv. 275-6, for, otherwise, the subject of *teneit* would be, in reality, Haveloc. The change from *de* to *pur* follows necessarily on the reading adopted, and is supported by v. 257.

281. *porrent*. Neither MS. gives a correct reading, the metre requiring a dissyllabic verb-form.

292-6. The construction is: l'unt requis ke la mariast a home tel [k'il les] maintenist e conseillast e k'il s'en aquitast lealment si gardast (=s'il voudrait garder) sun serement; *cf.* v. 373: Si garder voil mun serement; and v. 329: Lealment m'en puis aquiter. The last line of this passage is metrically faulty, and also meaningless, in P., hence I have followed H.

300. *dist.* The reading of H. seems preferable, as some reason for the delay is required by the context.

306. *Edelsi.* In H. the usual form of this name is *Alsi*, but here, and at v. 798, we seem to have evidence in the readings of this MS. that the fuller form occurred in its 'Vorlage.'

314. Neither P. nor H. gives a metrically correct line, but a slight rearrangement of the former, which finds some support in the order of verb and participle in the latter, satisfies all requirements.

324. *fille.* The reference in v. 327 is to Argentille, therefore *fille* must be the correct reading in this line (cf. v. 359).

328. *poreie.* Neither of the MSS. gives a metrically correct line; the emendation adopted is supported by the parallel passages, vv. 228, 362.

331-6. Though this passage is found only in H., the scornful tone is quite in keeping with Edelsi's character in the "Lai" (cf. vv. 1018 ff.); neither is there any apparent divergence in the style to render it suspect. Further, Edelsi tells his adherents what measures he intends to take if his plan meets with opposition (cf. vv. 339-41); such can only come from Argentille's supporters, and not even from them unless they know to whom she is to be married. As they are told this (cf. vv. 365-6), and as that account of the proceedings repeats this forecast, there must have been previous expression of the intention to tell them. Unless we accept vv. 331-6 as authentic, this would not be the case. Lastly, their omission from P. is easily explicable from the similarity of the second hemistich in vv. 330 and 336.

377. *diseient.* As our author shows a distinct aversion from hiatus (cf. Intro. § 9) we must accept elision after *entre*. Consequently, *dient*, which is the reading of both MSS., leaves the line a syllable short and has been emended.

384. *la fet.* In the author's intention, this couplet seems to continue the narrative form of, and be parallel in construction to, the previous one, not to be explanatory of it. As our author is very strict in his observance of the agreement of the past participle, *la* of H. is preferable to *lad* of P., thus keeping the verb in a simple tense. Elsewhere, viz. vv. 189, 823, 1054, we have this interchange of

NOTES

the present and the preterite of 'faire' in the two MSS. In this instance, the former, deriving from P., is supported by v. 381.

388. *adenz.* cf. Intro. § 4.

390. *la flambe ki.* It is the flame itself Haveloc wishes to conceal, not merely its origin; hence I have followed H. in preference to P.

394. This line, from H., is closer in form to the corresponding one in Gaimar (v. 184), and the use of *sun*, as in P., instead of the elision of *sa* is later than the date of our text.

398. *se garda.* In construction and intention this line is, I think, parallel to v. 397; Haveloc grows careless and, lying on his back, no longer conceals the flame. Hence I have adopted the reading of H.

413. *l'urs.* cf. Intro. § 4.

423-4. *munta desi k'a lui.* The reading of H. (adopted) is here closer in form than that of P. to the corresponding lines in Gaimar (vv. 223-4).

436. Both MSS. insert *ke* before *le*, which makes the line metrically faulty and the construction awkward, *tencient* being, I take it, a principal verb.

444. *l'esveilla.* Argentille's cry wakens Haveloc, hence the reading adopted.

468. *m'unt.* The reading of P.—*mult*—shows that for him *l* is vocalised before consonants, and that he has misread *u* for *n*.

478. *suspecun.* As there is no other instance in our poem of *-iun*: *-un*, I have adopted this form instead of that of the MSS., viz. *suspeciun*.

482. As this line is metrically faulty in P. I have adopted the reading of H., which gives the correct number of syllables.

522. *dist.* By adopting this reading from H. we keep the dissyllabic value of the termination *-iun*, which is that used by the author (cf. v. 478 note).

578. *jo.* Neither of the MS. readings makes good sense, and both give lines incorrect metrically; the correction adopted involves the minimum of change.

581. *file a rei est*. The reading of P.—*file du rei*—cannot be correct, as the only king mentioned is Edelsi, who cannot be her father; it probably derives from that adopted in the text, to which H. adheres more closely.

582. *ad tut*. If the verb involved were 'tolir,' as is partly suggested by P., we should expect here the preterite, which for our author is *tolli* (v. 700), but this would give a syllable too many; hence I have followed H.

583-5. With this passage cf. "Lai de Guingamor," vv. 609-11: Guingamor oï ce qu'il dist Merveilluse pitié l'em prist Du roi . . . A few other resemblances between this 'lai' and our text may be noted, viz. v. 7: Molt ot en lui noble baron (cf. v. 206); vv. 207-8: Li rois oï que ses niés dist Et la requeste que il fist (cf. vv. 297-8); v. 312: A Dieu du ciel l'ont commandé (cf. v. 104). They hardly suffice, however, to establish our author's knowledge of this 'lai,' for there is apparently no deliberate recasting of material on his part.

615. For this couplet, and for the extended passage found in H. cf. Intro. § 7.

618. Both MSS. give a metrically faulty line, but the slight rearrangement adopted corrects this.

637. *a els*. The personal reference seems intentional here, in partial anticipation of v. 639; hence I have followed H.

649. *de la curt*. This line, as well as the preceding one, is dependent on *enseigna*; hence *de* instead *a* of the MSS. The further reading of P.—*curt*—is supported by the subsequent reference (v. 667), and by the obvious parallelism of phrase between the merchant's instructions and their execution.

673-4. From the context it appears that Sigar sends Haveloc to wait until it is time for the meal; this is expressed by *tant ke* of P., but not by *quant* of H. On the other hand, the interchange of *fu* and *ore*, based on H., is necessary to make P. metrically correct.

679. Both MSS. insert *li* before *esquier*, but there is no instance in our text of its elision before a plural noun, so its retention would make the line hypermetric.

NOTES

685. *s'amie*. This seems to be intended by the reading of P.—*fame*—and by its presence in v. 694 in the same MS. Though in both instances H. reads *sa femme*, and though elsewhere in our text Argenteille is not referred to as *amie*, it is possible that P. is correct after all. In this particular passage it would seem that her status is not definitely known to the other personages, whereas such is the case when she is referred to as *feme*. There is, then, some ground for the distinction made by P.

694. *cf.* Intro. § 9.

701. As there were six assailants (*cf.* v. 683), of whom five were killed (*cf.* v. 720), the reading of H.—*cin*k—must be correct. The rest of the line differs in the two MSS., but it seems probable that the reading of P. is connected with the omission of *vifs* in the following line.

708. Neither MS. gives a metrically correct line. The agreement of the past participle supports *l'us* of P. against *les huis* of H., but *pus* of the former is more likely to be an error of transcription than *sus eus* (even though misplaced) of the latter. The two syllables required to complete the line are supplied by P., which thus describes the actions in logical sequence, *clos* and *ferme* not being synonyms.

717-23. *cf.* Intro. § 7.

756. Does the reading of H. represent an alternative line in the original? *cf.*, too, v. 265 note.

773-6. This passage is obviously miscopied by P., who, for some reason, appears to have written v. 774 first, to have repeated *de cest pais* in his v. 775, and to have combined the second hemistich of v. 775 with the first of v. 776 in order, even at the expense of grammar, to make his couplet rime.

784. Both MSS. insert *e* before *ja*, but its retention would make the line hypermetric.

793-4. This couplet is corrupt in both MSS., but *herbergé* is apparently active and *vile* and *marché* both nouns.

829-32. The couplet which replaces these four lines in H. is metrically incorrect; the context requires some reason for Sigar setting a watch for the flame; this reason is the same as in Gaimar

(*cf.* vv. 623-6), *viz.* information given by Haveloc's nurse; therefore this passage must be due to the author.

877-8. The reference to Argentille is in full accord with the greater prominence assigned to her in the "*Lai*"; there is thus no reason for departing from the reading of P. to follow that of H.

879-82. *cf.* Intro. § 7.

883-4. It is intended that all the bystanders shall attempt to sound the horn (as in Gaimar); the whole point would be lost if H. were followed and the rime-verbs read in the singular.

887. *n'ot en la sale*. This reading (from H.) is to be preferred as it equates *chevalier* with the other terms of the enumeration and is more in accord with the author's usage in not expressing the subject in the impersonal construction.

903-6. *cf.* Intro. § 7.

921-2. A similar divergence in reading is found in the corresponding passage in Gaimar (*cf.* vv. 731-2 and note), but on metrical grounds *reconeu* (from P.), which is also supported by the context, must be the correct reading.

938. *auna*. It is easier to explain the reading of P.—*assembla*—as a repetition from v. 931 than to account for an alteration being made by H.; hence I have followed the latter.

947ff. Though this single combat is related only in the "*Lai*," certain considerations make it probable that it does represent an original feature of the story. The evidence collected by Miss Ashdown ("The Single Combat in certain cycles of English and Scandinavian tradition and romance," *M.L.R.*, xvii., p. 113) renders it likely that a single combat upon which the fate of a kingdom depended—a development of the historic battle of Brunanburh—was one of the many traditions which gathered round the romantic figure of Anlaf Sictricson. If this be true, then it would seem that an essential feature of any similar combat deriving from this tradition must be its occurrence in England, but the Haveloc-Odulf duel clearly takes place in Denmark. In a reply ("The Single Combat in the *Lai d'Haveloc*," *M.L.R.*, xviii., p. 22) to the article cited above, I pointed out (1) That there is a suggestion of such a combat in the English "*Havelok*"—the fight between the hero and the usurper Godrich—which fulfils that essential condi-

tion, and of which the outcome was probably, in the original form, fatal to Haveloc's opponent; (2) that the combat between Haveloc and Odulf is but vaguely described in Gaimar, though his clemency after the battle is noticed; (3) that there is a possibility of the ending involving the ruse of the dead men, and the subsequent peaceful solution having been introduced into the story by Gaimar in order to strengthen the Danish claim of prior possession advanced by Canute (in the "Etoire des Engleis") at his memorable meeting with Edmund Ironside. 'Therefore, if Gaimar knew the dead men ruse from another source—and he was not unacquainted with Danish traditions—it would, with his purpose in view, supply him with a better and more striking ending, and, to judge by his methods on other occasions, he would not have scrupled to adopt it, instead of the original combat ending. Further, when Gaimar and the second source conflict, the author of the "Lai" seems to prefer the former but likes to make use as well of any additional features from the latter. Hence, assuming that the single combat figured in his second source—here representing the original tradition—he would have a very striking incident at his disposal, after deciding to adopt the ruse ending from Gaimar, which he could use to good purpose in the, as yet, rather colourless Haveloc-Odulf incident' (*l.c.*, p. 28). Is it possible that the allusion in Gaimar (vv. 761-4) to a prearranged battle—further developed in the "Lai" (vv. 1025-30)—masks a survival of the original ending of the story for which, as suggested above, he substituted that embodying the dead men ruse? Though in its present setting there is, of course, no reference to a personal combat in the passage from Gaimar, it is worth noting that the lines would serve, without alteration, to introduce an ending in which such a combat figured.

956ff. The construction here is rather obscure. I understand as follows: Very greatly he [*sc.* Haveloc] longed that they should have come together, and that he should have taken or lost him [*sc.* Odulf]. This seems to give rather better sense than the other possible interpretation—supported to some extent by *sembla tart* of H.—as an expression of regret by Odulf at having agreed to the decision by single combat. Whichever view be adopted, some slight correction of the MSS. readings is necessary.

972. *ki*. As there is no other instance of the elision of *ki*, I have

introduced the slight change into the text (*cf.* v. 1009 (P.): *ke a sa niece fu jure*; where the metre shows that *ki* must be read).

977-8. The couplet in P. is metrically more correct, and gives excellent sense, whereas that of H. is faulty in both respects.

985 *mer*. The metre requires an additional syllable, and the context rather seems to demand an object to *passast*; hence the emendation.

993-4 and 999-1000. *cf.* Intro. § 7.

1028. *cil*. The reading of H.—*le rei*—gives one syllable too many, and probably derives from the preceding line. On the other hand, P., by leaving the subject of *mist* unexpressed, gives one syllable too few; hence my insertion of *cil*.

1029-30. The couplet is required by the context, and has clearly been misplaced in H., where it is found in place of vv. 941-2.

1035. *Tefort*. In Gaimar, both the scene of Haveloc's landing and that of his battle with Edelsi are left unspecified, but the campaign probably finished at a place not too far from Colchester (*cf.* v. 804). In the "Lai" he lands at *Carleflod* (*cf.* Intro. § 3, p. 27), and, as in Gaimar, the end of the campaign is celebrated at Colchester (*cf.* v. 1096). Where, then, is *Tefort*? The name itself is quite clear, being an A.N. spelling of the A.S. *Theodford*, but two places of this name are found in the Haveloc country, *viz.* (1) Thetford in Norfolk, which is mentioned by Gaimar (v. 78) as the burial place of Adelbriht, which has historical associations with the Danes and was the scene of a battle between them and Uhtred of East Anglia in 1004, and (2) Tetford, near Horncastle, in Lincolnshire, which is suitably situated to meet an invasion from the more northerly coasts of that county but does not appear to have any such associations as the former. As the phrasing of v. 1096 in the "Lai" rather suggests a more considerable distance from Colchester than does the parallel line in Gaimar, it seems that the author located the battle in Lincolnshire either because of his acquaintance with some local tradition or else because he misunderstood a reference to *Theodford* in Norfolk, and, being more familiar with the Lincolnshire one, confused the two.

1060 ff. Both MSS. agree in the inversion in v. 1062, which is explicable if some reason for Haveloc not retiring is given; this

NOTES

H. does not do. On the other hand, *aprist* in that MS. corresponds more closely to *enseignad* of G. 772, so I have preferred it to *pramist* of P. The whole preceding passage (vv. 1055-8), which ascribes to Haveloc the intention of giving up the struggle, is due to the author of the "Lai," and it seems to me possible that a misunderstanding of *remist* (< 'remettre') in G. 774—reflected in *remist* (< 'remaneir') in Lai 1062—may have induced the change.

1066. *sus*. In both MSS. the line lacks a syllable, and this word seems to be required by the context; *cf.*, too, Gaimar v. 778.

1068. *levees*. In view of the author's strict observance of concord, the feminine participle, both here and in the preceding line, is to be preferred; furthermore, *drecez* of P. seems to be a partial repetition from v. 1066.

1078. *veeient*. This is undoubtedly the verb required by the context; *cf.* Intro. § 4.

1093. *Colecestre*. As all the events in England take place in the east, and as the line is parallel to Gaimar v. 803, this is clearly the correct reading. That of H.—*Gloucestre*—may possibly be due to confusion between *Colecestre* and *Glocestre*, a form of Gloucester not infrequently found (*cf.* Zachrisson, "A.N. Influence on English Place Names," p. 137). The same two places are confused in the MSS. readings of Guernes de Pont Sainte Maxence, "St. Thomas," v. 863, and the explanation may be the same as that suggested above.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

THOUGH much has been written about the Haveloc story, comparatively little attention has been devoted to the two Old French versions as such; the most recent edition is thus that in the Rolls Series ("Lestorie des Engles," ed. Hardy and Martin, 1888-9—where reference is made to earlier editions).

The English "Havelok" is quoted from Skeat's (1902) edition, the most recent when the earlier part of my introduction was being written, though now revised by K. Sisam. Both there and in H. Matter's "Englische Gründungssagen von Geoffrey of Monmouth bis zur Renaissance" (which appeared in time to be helpful in the compilation of the notes) useful summaries of the theories of the origin and development of the story and references to the current literature of the subject are given.

The relationship of the two Old French texts worked out in the introduction (§ 4) is the result of independent study, though the conclusion agrees with the view advanced by Ward in his *Catalogue of Romances* (vol. i., p. 437) and controverts the theory maintained by Kupferschmidt: "Die Haveloksage bei Gaimar" (*Romanische Studien*, iv.).

The first section of my introduction appeared in substantially the same form in the *Modern Language Review* (xv., p. 170).

GLOSSARY

[In the case of words occurring, with different spelling, in both texts the form used by Gaimar is put first. The gender of substantives is stated only when it is apparent from the context. References to Gaimar are preceded by G., those to the "Lai d'Haveloc" by L.]

- ABAISSIER** *vb.* abase G. 101.
- ACHAISUN, ACHEISUN** *s.f.* occasion G. 15, 31; L. 752.
- ACOLLER** *vb.* embrace (by putting the arms round the neck) L. 870.
- ACOMPAGNER, s'** *vb.* join company with L. 141.
- ACUINTIER, s'** *vb.* become acquainted G. 53.
- ADENZ** *adv.* prone G. 178, 180; L. 388.
- AERS** pp. of *aerdre*, clasp G. 240.
- AFETEMENT** *s.* instruction L. 164.
- AFICHIER, s'** *vb.* be determined G. 788.
- AHATEISUN** *s.* wager G. 112.
- AÏE** *s.* aid L. 944.
- AÏR** *s.* vigour L. 905.
- AÏRUS** *adj.* wrathful L. 158.
- AJURNER, AJORNER** *vb.* dawn G. 770; L. 1069.
- ALQUES** *adv.* somewhat L. 163, 186.
- ALTRIER, ALTRER** *adv.* other day G. 457, 615; L. 621.
- ALUER** *vb.* hire G. 390.
- AMBES** *num.* both G. 414.
- AMBURE** *num.*; *ambure*—*e* both—and G. 266, 278, 366, 785.
- AMENDER** *vb.* improve L. 151.
- APAREILLER** *vb.* make ready L. 89, 97, 345, 993; fit out with L. 188; *vb. refl.* make oneself ready L. 902, 1070.
- APERT** *adj.*; *en apert* openly L. 377.
- APRISMIER** *vb.* approach G. 183.
- ARDEIR** *vb.* burn G. 249, 292; L. 445; *ardra* 3 sg. fut. L. 481.
- ASEEIR** *vb.* seat; *asiet* 3 sg. pr. ind. G. 669; *asis* 1 sg. pret. G. 668; besiege; *aseent* 3 pl. pr. ind. L. 710; *asis* pp. L. 724; be seated L. 676; *vb. refl.* be seated, sit down; *asist* 3 sg. pret. L. 675, 878.
- ATARGER** *vb.* delay L. 994.
- ATURNER** *vb.* make ready L. 641, 991; fit out with L. 646; impute; *aturt* 3 sg. pr. subj. L. 340.
- AUNER** *vb.* collect L. 938, 983.
- AVENTURE** *s.f.* chance G. 527; L. 698; adventure L. 12, 16, 20, 512.
- AVESPRÉE** *s.* nightfall L. 1050.
- Avoé** *s.* protector L. 927.

GLOSSARY

- BAILLIE *s.f.* power, possession
 L. 197, 1105.
 BALDOIRE *s.* rejoicing G. 755.
 BARBÉ *adj.* bearded (full grown)
 L. 154.
 BARUN *s.m.* husband G. 246,
 260; L. 402.
 BEITER *vb.* bait L. 473.
 BENESQUIT 3 sg. pret. of *beneir*,
 bless L. 903.
 BLANDIR *vb.* coax, blandish
 G. 557.
 BOSCAGE *s.m.* wood G. 195;
 L. 403.
 BOSUIN *s.m.*; *a bosuin* at need
 G. 688.
 BRAUN *s.* leg (of meat) G. 275.
 BRICUN *s.* rascal G. 556.
 BURC *s.* town L. 710.
 BUSCHE *s.* firewood L. 248.

 CAMP *s.m.*; *plain camp* plain
 G. 738.
 CANESTEL *s.* cake G. 135.
 CANGIUM 1 pl. imperf. of
cangier, exchange G. 447.
 CARREI *s.* carts G. 497.
 CASEMENT *s.m.* domain G. 2.
 CHALDERE *s.* cauldron L. 332.
 CHALDERUN *s.* cauldron L. 483,
 1023, 1043.
 CHALENGIER *vb.* claim G. 460.
 CHAMBERLENCs *s.m.* chamber-
 lain L. 99 etc.
 CHAMPAIGNE *s.f.* plain L. 406.
 CHAPE *s.f.* cloak L. 509.
 CHASTIER *vb.* admonish L. 9.
 CHATONETTE *s.*; *en chatonettes*
 cautiously G. 216.

 CHEVEL *adj.*; *chevel parent* near
 relative G. 94 (*cf.* note).
 CHEVETAINE *s.* leader G. 42.
 CHIET 3 sg. pr. ind. of *chair*,
 fall G. 690.
 CHOISIR *vb.* catch sight of G.
 559; L. 441.
 CLAMER *vb.* claim G. 13; *cl.*
quite give up one's claim to
 G. 705.
 COMANDER *vb.* command L. 304,
 730, 898; commend L. 58.
 etc.
 CORSAGE *s.* body, build L. 372,
 746.
 CREIRE *vb.* believe; *crei* 1 sg.
 pr. ind. G. 419; L. 481,
 503; *crei* 3 sg. pret. L. 59,
 1062.
 CREISTRE *vb.* grow, increase
 G. 21; *crut* 3 sg. pret.
 G. 65; L. 151, 423; *creuz*,
creue pp. L. 180, 289 etc.
 CREMEIT 3 sg. imperf. of
creindre, fear L. 856.
 CROC *s.m.* hook L. 865, 876.
 CUETTE *s.* tail G. 215.
 CULPE *s.f.* guilt L. 952.
 CUMANT *s.m.* command G. 50.
 CUNREI, CONREI *s.m.* provisions
 G. 131, 395; outfit G. 498;
 assistance L. 655, 669.
 CUNTRAILLE *s.* harm, injury
 G. 411, 774.
 CUNVERSER *vb.* dwell G. 196.
 CUVIR *vb.* hide G. 348.

 DECEVEIR *vb.* take by surprise
 G. 294.

GLOSSARY

- DEFENDRE *vb.* forbid L. 748.
 DEFIER *vb.* defy G. 737, 760, 761.
 DEI *s.m.* finger G. 689.
 DESANCRER *vb.* unanchor L. 105.
 DESCUMFES *adj.* unconfessed G. 786.
 DESERVIR *vb.* deserve L. 978.
 DESEVRER *vb.* separate G. 769.
 DESPENDRE *vb.* spend G. 147.
 DESTREIT *s.* distress G. 226; L. 41.
 DETENIR *vb.* be in default G. 409.
 DEVEIR *vb.* mean G. 293.
 DIMES 1 pl. imperat. of *dire*, tell G. 341.
 DOLUR *s.* grief, sorrow G. 20.
 DREITURIER, DREITURER *adj.* rightful G. 809; L. 1101.
 DURER *vb.* last G. 88; extend G. 74.
 DUTE *s.f.* fear L. 94; doubt L. 818.
 DUTER, DOTER *vb.* fear G. 664; L. 459, 770; *vb. refl.* be afraid L. 863; *dute* 3 sg. pr. ind. L. 736.
 EÉ *s.* age L. 153.
 EFFORCER *vb.* grow stronger L. 152.
 EFFREI *s.* fear L. 429, 482, 871.
 EFFREIEZ *adj.* afraid L. 426, 449, 854.
 EIRE *s.m.* journey L. 641, 993.
 EISSILLIER, EXILER *vb.* go into exile G. 356; exile G. 301; L. 549.
 EMPIRE *s.m.* power G. 758.
 ENCHERIR *vb.* cherish G. 588.
 ENESLEPAS *adv.* immediately G. 633; L. 834.
 ENFES *s.m.* youth L. 69, 151, 156.
 ENFICHIER *vb.* erect G. 775, 777; L. 1065.
 ENGIN *s.m.* cunning device L. 1060.
 ENMALADIR *vb.* fall sick L. 233.
 ENPAIRIEZ (=espairiez) *adj.* landless, banished, men G. 302.
 ENPERNANT *adj.* enterprising L. 158.
 ENSEELER *vb.* seal L. 842.
 ENSEIGNE *s.* standard L. 1042.
 ENSEIGNER *vb.* instruct G. 772; L. 187, 647, 692, 1047.
 ENSEMENT *adv.* likewise G. 428, 748.
 ENSEVELIR *vb.* bury G. 90.
 ENTENTIVEMENT *adv.* attentively L. 741.
 ENVAIR *vb.* attack L. 413.
 ENVERS *adv.* supine G. 239; L. 398.
 ENVIE *s.*; *avoir envie* resent G. 536.
 ER see *ier*.
 ERC, ERENT, ERT see *estre*.
 ERRER *vb.* journey L. 663, 782.
 ESCHARNIR *vb.* mock L. 936.
 ESCHIELE, ESCHELE *s.f.* troop G. 779; L. 1067.
 ESCHIWID *adj.* shapely G. 106.
 ESCIENT *s.*; *a escient* certainly G. 599.

GLOSSARY

- ESCRIVAIN *s.* scrivener L. 841.
 ESCUIELE, ESQUELE *s.* dish G. 276; L. 249.
 ESCUIELER *s.* scullion G. 152.
 ESJOIR, s' *vb.* be glad L. 159, 636.
 ESMES see *estre*.
 ESPANDRE *vb.* spread out G. 7; *a espandant* in profusion G. 273.
 ESPEIR *s.m.* opinion G. 172.
 ESPELEIR *vb.* mean G. 291; explain; *espelst* 3 sg. pret. G. 263 (*cf.* note).
 ESPERIR, s' *vb.* awake G. 236; L. 438.
 ESPLAITIER, ESPLAITER *vb.* be successful G. 326; L. 185.
 ESPOENTER *vb.* terrify L. 450.
 ESPOURIR *vb.* terrify G. 256.
 ESPRENDRE *vb.* catch fire G. 295.
 ESTERMAN *s.m.* steersman G. 490.
 ESTOVEIR *vb.* be necessary; *estoet* 3 sg. pr. ind. L. 237; *estut* 3 sg. pret. G. 800; L. 88, 1086.
 ESTRE *vb.* be; *erc* 1 sg. fut L. 482; *ert* 3 sg. fut. L. 378; *esmes* 1 pl. pr. ind. G. 371; *ert* 3 sg. imperf. G. 42 etc.; L. 120 etc.; *erent* 3 pl. imperf. G. 8 etc.; L. 421.
 EWE *s.* water G. 285; L. 248, 476.
 FAILLE *s.*; *faire faille* run short G. 486.
 FEDEILTEZ *s.* fealty G. 726, 751.
 FERANT *adj.* iron-grey L. 1038.
 FERMETÉ *s.* fortress L. 229.
 FERTÉ *s.* fierceness L. 425.
 FES *s.m.* burden L. 181, 247, 282.
 FEZ *s.* deed L. 3.
 FIANCE *s.* promise L. 1089.
 FORMENT *s.* wheat L. 1000.
 FORS *adv.* forth G. 243; L. 66 etc.; *prep.* except G. 429, 430; L. 120, 211.
 FRANCHISE *s.f.* openness L. 257.
 FU *s.m.* fire G. 291, 691.
 FUISUN *s.*; *a fuisun* in plenty G. 445, 488; *aveir fuisun a* be a match for L. 280.
 FURCHEURE *s.* fork (of the body) L. 740.
 GABER *vb.* make fun of L. 897, 1016; *vb. refl.* G. 322; L. 936.
 GAITIER *vb.* watch G. 627, 635.
 GARANT *s.* protection G. 117.
 GARANTIR *vb.* protect L. 65, 410.
 GARDE *s.f.* ward L. 58, 231, 359; guard G. 86; *aveir garde* be afraid G. 665; L. 873.
 GARDER, se *vb.* take heed L. 398; *gart* 3 sg. pr. subj. L. 11.
 GARIR *vb.* be saved G. 429, 432, 584; L. 122, 215, 784; *garesimes* 1 pl. pret. G. 440; save L. 92, 608; *vb. refl.* L. 171.

GLOSSARY

- GARISUN *s.* safety L. 707 ; sup-
plies L. 999.
GARNIR *vb.* supply L. 55.
GASTEL *s.* fine wheaten bread
G. 127, 136.
GEHIR *vb.* confess G. 258.
GELDUN *s.* spearman G. 646.
GENTEMENT *adv.* excellently
G. 714.
GENUILLUN *s.* knee G. 228.
GESTE *s.f.* history G. 40.
GISIR *vb.* lie G. 166 etc. ; L.
384, 762, 824 ; *jut* 3 sg.
pret. G. 628 ; L. 393 ;
jurent 3 pl. pret. G. 317 ;
vb. refl. L. 388, 398.
GIU *s.m.* game L. 370.
GÖVERNER *vb.* steer G. 493 ;
govern L. 204, 240.
GRANDUR *s.* size L. 746.
GRASPEIS *s.* grampus G. 444.
GRÉ *s.* ; *savoir gre* be grateful
G. 379.
GREIGNUR, GREINUR *adj.* lar-
ger G. 776 ; L. 387.
GREVER *vb.* afflict L. 214.
GUEREIER *vb.* wage war G. 34.
GUERPIR *vb.* forsake L. 608.
GUISE *s.* manner G. 584.
GUPILZ, GOPILZ *s.m.* fox G. 201
etc. ; L. 405 etc.

HAITIER *vb.* please G. 124, 320.
HANTER *vb.* frequent L. 130.
HASTE *s.* (piece of) roast meat
G. 129, 136.
HERICIER *vb.* shudder, creep
G. 784, 792 ; L. 1074.
HIDUS, E *adj.* hideous L. 1075.

HONIR *vb.* put to shame G. 172 ;
L. 383.
HYSBUS *adj.* hideous G. 786.

IER, ER *adv.* yesterday G. 281,
381, 667 ; L. 471.
ILOC, ILUEC *adv.* there G. 80
etc. ; L. 136 etc.
IRASCUZ *adj.* angry L. 1055.
ISSI *adv.* thus G. 151.
ISSIR *vb.* issue G. 242, 634 ;
L. 72 etc. ; *ist* 3 sg. pr. ind.
G. 251 ; *issist* 3 sg. pret.
(? imp. subj.) L. 390 ; *istra*
3 sg. fut. L. 828 ; *issu* pp.
L. 126, 644.

JOÏR *vb.* rejoice G. 192 ; L.
598.
JURENT see *gisir*.
JUS *adv.* down G. 212.
JUSTE *prep.* beside G. 412 ;
L. 878.
JUSTER *vb.* engage in battle
L. 1022.
JUSTISER *vb.* punish L. 272.
JUSTISIERS *s.* administrator of
justice G. 506.
JUT see *gisir*.
JUVENTE *s.f.* youth G. 593.

KENARD *s.m.* ship G. 382.
KEUS *s.m.* cook L. 244, 799,
1022.

LAIDEMENT *adv.* insultingly L.
112.
LAÏS *adv.* within G. 381.

GLOSSARY

- LARDEZ *s.m.* side of bacon G. 725; L. 466.
 LARRAI I sg. fut. of *laier*, let G. 703.
 LAS *adj.* tired L. 833.
 LASSÉD *adj.* tired G. 629.
 LEALMENT *adv.* loyally L. 60 etc.
 LEALTÉ *s.f.* loyalty L. 874.
 LEIDENGIER *vb.* injure G. 533.
 LEZ *s.m.* side G. 663; *prep.* beside L. 236, 384, 677.
 LIU *s.m.* place L. 144, 184.
 LIVRER *vb.* hand over G. 86, 682, 684; L. 68, 218.
 LOER *vb.* advise G. 316 etc.; L. 628; praise G. 138, 719; L. 682.
 LORES *adv.* then G. 726.
 LOS *s.m.* advice G. 601.
 LUIER *s.* reward G. 468.
 LUINZ, LOINZ *adv.* far G. 783, 785; L. 316, 906.
 LUTE *s.f.* wrestling L. 370.
 LUTER *vb.* wrestle L. 155, 267, 276.
 MAHAIGNER *vb.* maim L. 728.
 MAIN *s.f.*; *de bone main* of noble descent G. 62.
 MAISNIÉE, MEISNÉE *s.f.* household G. 484; L. 98.
 MAKEREL *s.* mackerel G. 444.
 MALBAILLIR *vb.* illtreat G. 582.
 MALDIRE *vb.* speak ill of G. 186.
 MALMISE, pp. of *malmettre*, damage, harm G. 437; L. 117, 1052.
 MANANT *adj.* wealthy G. 274.
 MANDER *vb.* summon G. 513, 725; L. 911, 992, 1032; send word G. 464, 761; L. 932, 947, 1012; *mander pur* send for G. 645.
 MANEIR *vb.* dwell G. 329, 503; L. 242 etc.; *manum* I pl. pr. ind. L. 169.
 MANIER *vb.* handle L. 896.
 MARINE *s.f.* seashore L. 54, 1003.
 MEDLEE, MELLEÉ *s.f.* strife G. 113; L. 347, 731, 1049.
 MEIENEL *s.m.* horn (of medium size) G. 694, 706.
 MEISMES *adj.* self, same G. 727; L. 33, 103, 275, 835.
 MEMBRE *s.* limb L. 152.
 MEMBRER *vb.* remember G. 558, 620, 623; L. 814, 1043.
 MENDIVE *s.f.* beggar L. 551.
 MENU, E *adj.* common G. 747; L. 943.
 MERCI *s.f.* pardon G. 217; L. 418, 967; *venir a merci* make submission G. 746, 748.
 MERCIER *vb.* thank G. 380; L. 839.
 MESAVENIR *vb.* mischance, happen amiss L. 63.
 MESCHINE *s.f.* maiden G. 772; L. 288 etc.
 MESCHINS *s.* youth G. 331.
 MESDIRE *vb.* speak ill of L. 270.
 MESFET *s.m.* misdeed L. 861.
 MESMARIER *vb.* marry beneath station G. 98.
 MESPRISUN *s.* misconduct L. 7.

GLOSSARY

- MESTIER, MESTER *s.* occupation
L. 172; *aveir mestier* avail
G. 796; L. 1080; *aveir mestier a* be necessary to
L. 10; *estre mestier* be necessary G. 168.
- MUILLIER *s.f.* wife G. 184 etc.
- MULVEL *s.* mulwell G. 443.
- MUSTIER, MUSTER *s.m.* church
G. 546; L. 706, 723, 733.
- MUSTER *vb.* show L. 308 etc.
- NAGIER, NAGER *vb.* navigate,
sail G. 493; L. 124, 1001.
- NAVIRE *s.m.* fleet G. 757.
- NAVRE *vb.* wound G. 692.
- NEIER *vb.* drown G. 690.
- NEPUDOC *conj.* nevertheless G.
351; L. 485.
- NEPUDQUANT *conj.* nevertheless
G. 119; L. 818.
- NIENT, NEIENT *s.* nothing G.
296; *pur nient* to no purpose
G. 680; *adv.* not at all
L. 130.
- NIES *s.m.* nephew G. 43.
- NONAIN *s.* nun L. 319.
- NOVELE *s.f.* news L. 631, 715,
923.
- NUMER, NOMER *vb.* name G.
607; L. 14 etc.
- NUNCIER *vb.* announce G. 636,
795.
- NUSEIT 3 sg. imperf. of *nuire*,
harm L. 832.
- OCIRE, OSCIRE *vb.* kill; *ocieient*
3 pl. imperf. G. 229; *oscis*
1 sg. pret. L. 765; *ocist*,
oscist 3 sg. pret. G. 38 etc.;
L. 35 etc.; *ocistrent*, *oscis-*
trent 3 pl. pret. G. 204;
L. 784; *osceist* 3 sg. imp.
subj. L. 86; *ocis*, *oscis*, *e*
pp. G. 281 etc.; L. 33 etc.
- OES see *ues*.
- OI 1 sg. pret. of *aveir*, have
G. 614.
- OILZ *s.* eye G. 241.
- OIR *vb.* hear L. 1 etc.; *ot* 3 sg.
pr. ind. G. 289, 320; *oient*
3 pl. imperf. L. 926; *oid*, *oi*
3 sg. pret. G. 262 etc.;
L. 297 etc.; *oist* 3 sg. imp.
subj. G. 675; *orras* 2 sg.
fut. L. 532; *oex* 2 pl.
imperat. G. 96, 154; *oianz*
pres. p. L. 335; *oid*, *oi* pp.
G. 1, 715; L. 143, 1018.
- ORAINZ *adv.* just now L. 758.
- ORE see *ure*.
- ORED, ORÉ *s.m.* breeze G. 479;
L. 106, 995.
- OTREIER, OTTREIER *vb.* accord,
agree G. 812; L. 669, 671;
ottrie 3 sg. per ind. L. 507.
- PAELE *s.* pan L. 484, 1024,
1044.
- PARAGE *s.* birth, descent L. 581.
- PARLANCE *s.* talk L. 1109.
- PEISE 3 sg. pr. ind. of *peser*,
grieve L. 488.
- PELS *s.* stake G. 775; L. 1063.
- PENER *vb.* trouble with G. 706;
vb. refl. G. 680.
- PEONIERS *s.* foot soldier G. 646.
- PER *s.m.* equal G. 715.

GLOSSARY

- PESCHIER, PESCHER *vb.* fish G. 441; L. 137, 171, 792.
- PESCHIERE, PESCHERE *s.m.* fisherman G. 378; L. 545; *pescheur* G. 329, 367.
- PLAIGNE *s.f.* plain L. 1076.
- PLAIN *adj.*; *a plain* in plenty G. 448.
- PLET *s.m.* judgement L. 862; agreement L. 1086.
- PLUNS, PLUMS *s.* boiler, 'copper' G. 284; L. 475 etc.
- POESTIS *adj.* powerful G. 75, 509.
- POI *adv.* little, few G. 144, 323; L. 115; *pur poi ke* almost L. 817.
- PORPEIS *s.* porpoise G. 444.
- PORZ *s.* pig L. 409.
- POUR *s.f.* fear G. 241 etc.; L. 41 etc.
- PREISIER *vb.* prize G. 138.
- PREMERAINS *adv.* first of all L. 733, 790, 915.
- PREST 3 sg. pr. subj. of *prester*, lend L. 534.
- PRESTZ *adj.* ready G. 198.
- PRISUN *s.m.* prisoner G. 699; L. 822; *s.f.* prison L. 341.
- PRIVEZ *s.m.* intimate L. 307 etc.
- PRODOM *s.m.* worthy man G. 359 etc.; L. 45 etc.
- PUIGNANT pres. p. of *puindre*, spur G. 553.
- PURCHACER *vb.* procure L. 251; try to obtain L. 1012.
- PUROC *conj.* still G. 159.
- PURPENS *s.* thought G. 179.
- PURPENSER, se *vb.* think deeply, reflect G. 102; L. 813.
- PURPRIS pp. of *purprendre*, take possession of G. 11.
- PURSUÏRENT 3 pl. pret. of *pur-siure*, pursue L. 760.
- QUANQUE, QUANTKE *adv.* whatever G. 149, 264; L. 251.
- QUANT see *tant*.
- QUARELS *s.* squared stones L. 727.
- QUER *s.m.* heart G. 210; L. 36, 161.
- QUERRE, QUERE *vb.* ask, seek G. 217 etc.; L. 176 etc.; *quist* 3 sg. pret. L. 309; *quistrent* 3 pl. pret. G. 497; L. 43; *quis* pp. L. 363; *quer* 2 sg. imperat. L. 655.
- QUIDIER *vb.* think G. 155, 658; L. 165 etc.; *qui* 1 sg. pr. ind. G. 162, 576; L. 546.
- QUINT *num.* fifth G. 735.
- QUISINE *s.f.* kitchen G. 130, 272; L. 331 etc.
- QUISSE *s.* thigh G. 215.
- QUITE pp. of *quire*, cook G. 287.
- QUITE see *clamer*.
- RAISUNER *vb.* address G. 360.
- RAPARAILLIER, se *vb.* prepare again G. 787.
- RECUNUISTRE *vb.* recognise G. 331; acknowledge G. 28; *reconeu* pp. L. 921.
- REDUTER *vb.* dread L. 432.
- REGEÏR *vb.* confess L. 830.
- REMANEIR *vb.* remain, stay be-

GLOSSARY

- hind G. 417; L. 1034;
remis 1 sg. pret. G. 453;
remist 3 sg. pret. L. 119,
 1062; *remistrent* 3 pl. pret.
 G. 477; *remaindrad* 3 sg.
 fut. G. 272; *remaindre* 2 pl.
 fut. G. 474; *remes* pp. G.
 499; dwell; *remanant* pres. p.
 G. 602; *faire remaneir* put
 off L. 747.
- REMETTRE *vb.* repair, restore;
remist 3 sg. pret. G. 773.
- REMUER *s.*; *a remuiers* change
 G. 391.
- RENGER *vb.* arrange L. 1067.
- REPAIRIER, REPEIRER *vb.* return
 G. 220, 325; L. 304, 333,
 420, 1046.
- REQUERE *vb.* request L. 310;
requis pp. L. 292; attack;
requerent 3 pl. pr. ind. L.
 960.
- RETENIR *vb.* retain L. 2, 244.
- REVERTIR *vb.* turn L. 536.
- REVESTIR *vb.* clothe L. 860;
revestu pp. L. 851.
- RICHES *adj.* mighty G. 46 etc.;
 L. 12 etc.
- ROIS 1 sg. pr. ind. of *rover*, ask
 G. 706.
- RUER *vb.* throw down G. 114,
 426, 554, 768; L. 727.
- SALFS *adj.* safe L. 1090.
- SALMUN *s.* salmon G. 443.
- SALNIERE *s.* saltwife G. 377.
- SALNIERS *s.* salter G. 450.
- SALVAGE *adj.* wild G. 196, 282;
 L. 404, 788.
- SECREI *s.m.* secret G. 340, 397.
- SEEIR *vb.* sit down L. 877.
- SEIGNER *vb.* sign with the cross
 G. 711; L. 903.
- SEMBLANZ *s.m.* semblance G.
 107, 217; L. 246, 392, 418,
 435.
- SEMBLER *vb.* seem G. 411, 780,
 786.
- SEN *s.m.* understanding, ability
 G. 263.
- SENES *adv.* immediately G. 122.
- SEREIN *s.* evening G. 766.
- SERJANZ, SERGANZ *s.* man-at-arms
 G. 635, 695; L. 99, 888.
- SERVANZ *s.* serving-man L. 179,
 264.
- SIGLER *vb.* sail L. 124, 1001.
- SIMENEL *s.* fine wheaten cake
 G. 128, 135.
- SIS *num.* six G. 531; L. 683.
- SOLEIR *vb.* be accustomed L.
 282; *soelt* 3 sg. pr. ind.
 L. 486.
- SORUR see *suer*.
- SOT *s.* fool L. 258.
- SUEF *adj.* soft G. 106; *adv.*
 gently G. 422.
- SUER, SOER *s.f.* sister G. 365;
 L. 592, 594; *sorur* G. 56,
 61, 374; L. 207 etc.
- SUING *s.* care G. 142.
- SUJUR *s.*; *a sujur* at rest G. 477.
- SUJURNER *vb.* sojourn, stay G.
 479.
- SULUNC *prep.* according to G. 263.
- SUMIER *s.* pack-animal G. 497.
- SUMUNST 3 sg. pret. of *sumundre*,
 summon G. 757.

GLOSSARY

- SURFET *s.m.* excess L. 768.
 SURVEEIR *vb.* survey L. 1039.
 SUS *adv.* up G. 548, 778; L. 443, 1066.
 SUSPECUN *s.* doubt L. 478.
 SUSPIRER *vb.* sigh L. 520, 744.
 SUTIVEMENT *adv.* in seclusion L. 169.
 SUZ *prep.* under, among G. 308, 672; L. 102 etc.
 SUZMETTRE *vb.* make subject to L. 29; *suzmist* 3 sg. pret. L. 974.
 TAILLER *vb.* hew L. 248.
 TALENT *s.m.* mind G. 348.
 TANT *adv.*; *ne tant ne quant* in no wise G. 696.
 TART *adv.*; *estre tart* long L. 956.
 TEHIR *vb.* thrive G. 65.
 TELS *pron.*; *tels i ot* some L. 43.
 TEMPRER *vb.* heat L. 849.
 TENANT *s.m.*; *en un tenant* in one stretch G. 74.
 TENCUN *s.* dispute G. 730.
 TINEL *s.* club G. 776.
 TOLIR *vb.* take away G. 165; L. 761; *tolli* 3 sg. pret. L. 700; *toldrunt* 3 pl. fut. L. 685; *tolliu, e* pp. L. 694.
 TORS *s.* bull G. 283, 287; L. 473.
 TORZ *s.m.* wrong G. 524; L. 549, 754, 988.
 TRAIRE *vb.* draw L. 735; *traist, trest* 3 sg. pret. G. 253; L. 447; *vb. refl.* L. 443, 870.
 TRAITER *vb.* treat, relate L. 238.
 TRAVAIL *s.* trouble G. 16, 550.
 TRAVAILLER *vb.* toil in travel L. 663.
 TRAVERS *s.m.* crossing L. 107.
 TREI *num.* three L. 191.
 TRENCHIER, TRENCHER *vb.* cut G. 436, 537, 542; L. 134, 697, 1063.
 TREPEZ *s.* trivet L. 1023.
 TRESQUE, TRESKE *adv.* as far as G. 9, 49, 73, 803; L. 1093; until G. 317, 486, 643, 766, 770; *conj.* as soon as G. 295, 713; *tresque . . . unques* as soon as . . . ever G. 177, 489, 559.
 TREU *s.m.* tribute G. 409; L. 30.
 TRIWES, TRIVES *s.* truce G. 565; L. 751, 819.
 TRUIS I sg. pr. ind. of *trover*, find G. 307.
 TURBUZ *s.* turbot G. 443.
 UES, OES *s.m.* use G. 266; L. 460.
 UI *adv.* to-day L. 473.
 ULTREMER *s.* overseas G. 22.
 UNC *adv.* ever G. 224 etc.
 UNCORE *adv.* still, again L. 526, 633.
 UNQUES *adv.* ever G. 177 etc.; L. 129 etc.
 URE, ORE *s.f.* hour, time G. 122, 350; L. 71, 673, 835.
 URS *s.m.* bear G. 196 etc.; L. 404 etc.
 US *s.m.* door G. 547; L. 708.
 US *s.* custom L. 858.

GLOSSARY

- UTHLAGES, UTLAGES *s.m.* outlaw G. 425, 581; L. 111, 116, 611, 783.
 UXOR *s.f.* wife G. 368.

 VADLETUN *s.m.* youth G. 104, 578, 613.
 VADLEZ, VALLEZ *s.m.* youth G. 111 etc.; L. 190 etc.
 VAILLANT *adj.* worthy L. 209.
 VEILZ *s.* sail G. 492.
 VEIR *s.m.* truth G. 67, 520, 678; *adj.* true G. 39, 639, 756.
 VEIREMENT *adv.* truly G. 473, 491, 780.
 VENEISUN *s.* venison G. 270.
 VENEUR *s.* huntsman G. 674.
 VERJANT *s.m.* rod G. 118.

 VERTU *s.f.* strength, power G. 512; L. 266 etc.
 VERTUUS *adj.* full of strength L. 157.
 VESQUID, VESQUI 3 sg. pret. of *vivre*, live G. 404, 451, 808; L. 1092, 1100.
 VEUR *s.* scout G. 789.
 VEZIEZ *adj.* cunning L. 306.
 VICE *s.m.* device G. 623.
 VIED 1 sg. pr. ind. of *vier*, refuse G. 709.
 VIL *adj.* common L. 470.
 VILAIN *s.* common man L. 10.
 VILAINIE *s.* common behaviour L. 7, 340.
 VINZ *num.* score L. 346, 997.
 VIS *s.m.* face G. 105; *estre vis* seem G. 144.
 VITAILLE *s.* provisions G. 485.

INDEX OF NAMES

[References to Gaimar's Haveloc episode are preceded by G., those to the "Lai d'Haveloc" by L.]

ACHEBRIT. L. 205 *etc.* cf. Adelbriht.

ADELBRIHT. G. 45 *etc.*—father of Argentille and king of Norfolk.

Two problems are raised by this name :

(1) The MSS. differ in their rendering of the first component; D.L. give *Ache-* or a phonetic variant thereof, R. gives *Adel-*, which is the only form from which *Albriht*, assured by the metre, could arise and is also supported by its general agreement with the name in the English versions (*cf.* Intro. § 4).

(2) The MSS. differ in their rendering of the second component, being uncertain how to express the final sound. The persistence, both in his episode and in the "Etoire" proper, of spellings with *-ict*, *-icht*, and *-iht* in such names, and their absence in words terminating in *-it* not deriving from A.S. *-iht*, suggest that Gaimar wrote, in accordance with his English sources, *-iht* in these cases. Possibly, to him, the termination was not the phonetic equivalent of *-it* from other sources, as it is noticeable that he avoids using these names in the rime.

ALBRIHT. G. 89. *cf.* Adelbriht.

ALEMAINE. G. 23.—Germany.

ALGIER. G. 603, 616; *Algiers* G. 481.—husband of Kelloc and son-in-law of Grim.

It is uncertain whether this name is of English or of Scandinavian origin, but there is reason for doubting whether the generally accepted prototype is correct. In his "Nordische Personennamen in England" Björkman inclines to the equation with Sc. *Alfger* rather than with O.E. *Aelfgar*, though quoting with approval a remark by Deutschbein ("Studien zur Sagengeschichte Englands," p. 102) to the effect that "*Alger* (im Havelok) könnte sowohl angelsächsisch als nordisch sein." It should, however, be noted (1) that in such compound names Gaimar almost always retains the inter-consonantal *f*, either in that form or as *o* (*e.g.* *Aelflæd* > *Elflæt* 2141; *Aelfred* > *Elfred* 2337), and (2) that elsewhere he always retains the component *-gar* (*e.g.* *Aedelgar* > *Edelgar* 4097; *Eadgar* > *Edgar* 3567; *Ordgar* > *Orgar* 3605; *Walgar* > *Walgar* 4506).

Therefore, though Gaimar would appear to be responsible for the introduction of the name into his Haveloc episode,

it would seem that he did not derive it directly from O.E. *Aelfgar*. The forms in which certain other O.E. names appear in the MSS. of the "Estoire" suggest the possibility of confusion with still another name. At v. 2505 D.L. give the name *Ealhhere*, which usually occurs as *Alchere*, in the form *Algier*; and at v. 5453 the name *Wealhhere* appears in the following forms, *viz.* *Walgier* (D.), *Walcher* (L.), *Walgar* (H.)—possibly influenced by the *Walgar* who figures in the story of the sons of Edmund Ironside—and *Walzeier* (R.).

ALVIVE. G. 403.—daughter of Gaifier and mother of Haveloc.

This would appear to be the name used by Gaimar, for at v. 4532 (the name is omitted in R.), when referring to Aelfgifu-Emma, wife of Aethelred and then of Cnut, he uses the form *Elvive*. The name in the Lambeth Interpolation, *viz.* Eleyne, may be a substitution for that in its source (*cf.* variants). The interchange of *Al* and *El* in such names is well attested in Gaimar, *e.g.* *Elvred* (king) and *Alvred* (Atheling), *Elftroed* (*temp.* Edgar) and *Alftroed* (*temp.* Hereward), and in some cases seems to depend on a difference of source.

ARGENTILLE. G. 64 *etc.*; L. 212 *etc.*; ARGENTELE. G. 530, 540.—daughter of Adelbriht and wife of Haveloc.

Whatever the origin of the name, the final syllable seems to be treated by Gaimar as a diminutive, hence its variation. It is possible that *Argante* in Layamon represents the same Celtic name (*cf.* Imelmann, "Layamon: Versuch über seine Quellen," p. 26, and Ward, "Catalogue of Romances," vol. i., p. 432).

ARTHUR. G. 33 *etc.*; L. 27 *etc.*—king of Britain.

The connection of Arthur with the Haveloc story is largely, if not entirely, due to Gaimar's endeavour to fit the story into the framework of his chronicle (*cf.* Intro. §§ 4, 5 and also H. Matter, "Englische Gründungssagen von Geoffrey of Monmouth bis zur Renaissance," p. 261 ff.).

ASCHIS. G. 522—brother of Odulf.

The name and the circumstances of his death are clearly derived by Gaimar from Geoffrey of Monmouth (xi., 2). The name itself is of Scandinavian origin (*cf.* Björkman, "Nordische Personennamen in England," *s.v.* Asketil), and in the form *Aschil* is very common in Domesday Book. Whether

INDEX OF NAMES

Gaimar had any reason for asserting relationship between Aschis and Odulf remains unknown.

AVELOC. L. 17 *etc.* *cf.* Haveloc.

BRETAINE. G. 20 *etc.*—Britain ; L. 317.—Brittany (apparently, to judge by the expression ‘*dela la mer*’).

BRETUN. G. 16, 59 ; L. 604 ;
BRETUNS. L. 40.—Briton ;
BRETUN. L. 21, 261.—Breton.

There is no doubt that in Gaimar the reference is to the insular Britons ; in the “*Lai*” the question is not quite so easy to decide. At vv. 40, 604 the reference is to the followers of Arthur ; at v. 21 it is to the makers of *lais*, and at v. 261 to the meaning of a word in their (*i.e.* presumably the makers of the *lai*) language. The distinction made above is, therefore, probably justified but cannot be proved.

BREZ. L. 202.—inhabitant of ‘*Bretaine*.’

The reference is to Edelsi, who is in Gaimar undoubtedly a Briton, but, in view of L. 314 ff., it is probable that the author of the “*Lai*” thought of him as a Breton.

CAÏR COËL. G. 72.—Colchester.

CALIBUR. G. 44.—Arthur’s sword.

CARLEFLOD. L. 1002.—Charl-fleet, a lost seaport on the Lincolnshire coast.

CATENEIS. G. 9.—Caithness.

CERTIZ. G. 8.—Saxon leader.

The one to whom Modred appeals for help is called Cheldric in both Geoffrey of Monmouth and Wace. As I have pointed out elsewhere (“*The West Saxon Genealogy in Gaimar*,” *Philological Quarterly*, II., p. 173), ‘if we take literally the statements of G. of M., then there were two Cheldrics concerned in the Saxon invasions : one who arrives in time to relieve York (ix., 1) and is afterwards killed in Kent (ix., 5) ; another who is sent by Modred to bring fresh troops (xi., 1) and is slain in the final overthrow of the traitor (xi., 2).’ It is clear from the expression *l’altre Certiz* (*Estoire*, v. 822) that Gaimar dealt in some way with two Saxon leaders of that name, the second being the historical Cerdic (*A.S. Chr. s.a.* 495) who is later (vv. 4319–24) identified with Geoffrey’s Cheldric II. The ‘*Certiz*’ under discussion seems to combine features of both Cheldrics, vv. 17–18 of the episode referring to the earlier and vv. 9–12 to the later. It is impossible to say

INDEX OF NAMES

how far Gaimar actually distinguished the two, or to determine the extent of his confusion of Cerdic and Cheldric. Some additional light is thrown on the Harley fragments (Imelmann, *op. cit.*, p. 111 ff.) when we find Geoffrey's Cheldric I. referred to as *Cherdi* (fragment II., line 6) and *Cherdic* (*do.*, line 32).

COLECESTRE. G. 73, 79, 803; L. 1093.—Colchester.

COSTENTINS. G. 42, 43; COSTENTIN. G. 2.—nephew and successor of Arthur.

The references are entirely due to the historical setting in Gaimar's work, as Constantine does not figure in the actual Haveloc story told by our author. Further, as there is no evidence of a Constantine figuring in the Haveloc saga (*cf.* Matter, *op. cit.*, p. 265) there can be no question of confusion between Constantine, nephew of Arthur, and Constantine, father-in-law of Anlaf Cuaran, as is assumed by Fräulein Brandenburg ("Galfrið von Monmouth und die frühmittelenglischen Chronisten," p. 19).

CUARAN. G. 100 *etc.*; L. 18 *etc.*; CUARANT. G. 194, 214, 612, 790; L. 23, 571.—name borne by Haveloc while a scullion.

CUMBREIS. G. 18.—Cumbrian.

DANEIS. G. 35 *etc.*; L. 25 *etc.*—Dane.

DANEMARCHE. G. 69 *etc.*—Denmark.

DENEMARCHE. L. 28 *etc.*—Denmark.

EDELSI. G. 47 *etc.*; L. 196 *etc.*; EDELSIS. G. 808; L. 1099; EDELSIE. G. 814.—uncle of Argentille and king of Lindsey.

The prototype of the name is O.E. *Aedelsige*, the two variant forms being due to the exigencies of rime. If, however, the original of the name is clear, the same cannot be said of the original of the personage. Though most scholars are agreed that Edelsi's treatment of Argentille is not a mere literary counterpart of Odulf's driving out of Haveloc but has some historical basis, their efforts to discover this basis have been only partially successful (*cf.* Matter, *op. cit.*, p. 256). The name raises still another problem: was it introduced into the story by Gaimar? The latter is faithful to the Haveloc tradition when he speaks of two peoples in England, but, in circumscribing their homes so closely, he is probably influenced by local traditions which reflect

INDEX OF NAMES

the conditions of the Heptarchy. Therefore the similarity in name between his Adelbriht, king of Norfolk, and the Aedelbriht, king of East Anglia, slain by Offa, is not without interest. It suggests that the name was introduced—or possibly, since the partial agreement with “Havelok the Dane” points to an *Aedel-* name as original, substituted — by Gaimar. Should this be the case, then, as there is complete divergence from “Havelok the Dane,” it is quite probable that the name *Edelsi* was introduced by him, though it is impossible to say whether he had any grounds for so doing.

ENGELANT. G. 30.—England.

ENGLEIS. G. 21, 28, 34.—English.

ENGLETERRE. L. 175, 985.—England.

ESCOT. G. 17.—Scot.

ESTANFORT. L. 200.—Stamford, Lincs.

GAIFIER. G. 402.—maternal grandfather of Haveloc.

The name appears to have been introduced by Gaimar himself, chiefly on account of the rime. Is there any connection with the continent involved? We find the same name in the *chansons de geste*.

GALWEIEN. G. 18.—Galwegian (inhabitant of Galloway).

GILDE. G. 39.—Gildas the historian.

GRIM. G. 330 *etc.*; L. 59 *etc.*; GRIMS. G. 332.—foster-father of Haveloc and founder of Grimsby.

An eponymous hero, but belonging to the original Haveloc story (*cf.* Matter, *op. cit.*, p. 381).

GRIMESBI. G. 305 *etc.*; L. 127 *etc.*—Grimsby.

GUNTIER. G. 401 *etc.*; L. 25 *etc.*; GUNTIERS. L. 53 *etc.*—father of Haveloc and king of Denmark.

The name itself is of continental origin (*cf.* Björkman, *op. cit.*, s.n. Gunner), but the historical prototype is, according to Deutschbein, Gudred of Northumbria (884-94).

HAVELOC. G. 339 *etc.*; HAVELOCS. G. 420 *etc.*—titular hero, in exile in England, subsequently king of Denmark.

The name is generally held to derive through a Celtic medium from Sc. *Anlaf*, and the historical prototype is largely, though not entirely, Anlaf Cuaran, king in Northumbria (941-52).

INDEX OF NAMES

HENGIS. G. 12, 14, 25.—
Saxon leader, the Hengist of
tradition.

For Gaimar, Hengist is not
only a predecessor, but also an
ancestor, of Cerdic. This asso-
ciation seems to be entirely due
to Gaimar; its starting-point
is his confusion of Cerdic and
Cheldric, which has the effect of
making Cerdic and Hengist
almost contemporary. Their
common descent from Woden
now assumes a different aspect
to Gaimar, especially in view of
the particular form of the West
Saxon genealogy known to him,
i.e. with *Witta* in place of the
usual *Wig* (*cf.* my article, cited
supra, *s.n.* Certiz), for there is
also a *Witta* among the an-
cestors of Hengist.

HOILANT. G. 73, 803; L.
1093.—Holland, S.E. Lincs.

HUMBRE. G. 9, 49.—R. Hum-
ber.

KELLOC. G. 375, 483; L. 563
etc.—daughter of Grim and
foster-sister of Haveloc.

The name is of Scandinavian
origin, being the contracted
form of *Ketellog (*cf.* Björk-
man, "Zur englischen Namen-
kunde," p. 53).

LINDESI. G. 48, 83; LINDESIE.
G. 92, 579; L. 198 *etc.*—
Lindsey, N. Lincs.

LOENEIS. G. 4.—Lothian, Scot-
land.

MODRED. G. 10, 38, 524.—
nephew of Arthur.

MUREIF. G. 4.—Murray, Scot-
land.

NICOLE. G. 48, 92; NICHOLE.
L. 194 *etc.*—Lincoln.

NORTFOLC. G. 52.—Norfolk.

ODULF. G. 525 *etc.*; L. 35
etc.—usurping king of Den-
mark.

The name itself is of Scan-
dinavian origin (*cf.* Björkman,
op. cit., *s.n.* Oudulf), but the
historical prototype is, according
to Deutschbein, Eadulf of Bam-
borough (894–912).

OREWAIN. G. 81; ORWAIN.
G. 61; ORWEIN. L. 209.—
mother of Argentille.

The name is of Celtic origin
(*cf.* Ward, "Catalogue of
Romances," vol. i., p. 432).

PECTEIS. G. 17.—Pict.

ROME. L. 371.—Rome.

ROTELANT. G. 49; ROTELANDE.
L. 200.—Rutland.

SAISNE. G. 7.—Saxon.

SAISUINE. G. 23.—Saxony.

SEBRUC. G. 368; SEBURC. L.
546.—wife of Grim.

The form in the "Lai"

INDEX OF NAMES

would appear to represent the original name more closely, which, though possibly Scandinavian, is more likely to be English (*cf.* Björkman, *op. cit.*, *s.n.* Sæburh).

SIGAR ESTALRE. G. 504; SIGAR ESTAL. L. 44, 627, 650; SIGAR. G. 553 *etc.*—Danish noble, faithful adherent of Guntier and supporter of Haveloc.

The name *Sigar* may be of English or of Scandinavian origin (*cf.* Björkman, *op. cit.*, *s.n.* Sigar); the second element is the title given in the 11th

cent. to a royal officer corresponding to the later marshal. In the form used here it derives from O.E. 'steallere,' itself a Scandinavian loan-word (*cf.* Björkman, *op. cit.*, *s.v.* Stallere).

SUREIS. L. 203.—man of Surrey (*cf.* G. 2500: Sudreis), but used without any definite localisation being intended.

TEFORT. L. 1035.—Tetford, Lincs.

TIEDFORT. G. 78.—Thetford, Norfolk.

YWAIN. G. 3.—king of Lothian.

INDEX

Adjective 108, 112.

Adverb 109, 120.

Alfred atheling 66.

Anlaf Sihtricson (Cwiran) 46,
69, 71.

Article 107, 111.

Bérout 48.

Buern Bucecarle 3, 11, 63, 65,
70, 71.

Carlefrod 27.

Certiz 4, 5, 12.

Cesura 127-9.

Conjunction 120-1.

Couplet 17-8, 123-5.

Cyules 50, 222.

Danes, supposed early settle-
ment in England 10, 12-3,
222.

'dead men' 67, 241.

"Description of Britain" 80,
85, 88, 100, 101, 102.

Engelant 2.

Ethandun 72.

GAIMAR: composition 10-2; con-
nection with Hampshire 74-
6, with Lincolnshire 68-9;
diction 3, *l'autre* 5, *dunt dis*
ainceis 7, *estoire* 61-2; know-
ledge of Tristan story 48-9;
nature and contents of source
67-8; style 3, 18; versifica-
tion 123-33; comparison of
Haveloc episode and "Es-
toire," phonology 15-6, hi-

atus and elision 16, rime 17,
couplet 17-8, style 18.

Galweien 3, 221.

Gerbert de Montreuil 234-5.

Gormund 63, 66, 70, 71.

Harley fragments 224, 230.

Haveloc 132.

Hiatus and Elision 16, 131-3.

Incorrect lines 130-1.

Kupferschmidt 2, 6, 7, 14,
16-8, 20-2, 30, 32, 34, 38,
40, 87.

"Lai de Guingamor" 238.

LAI D'HAVELOC: alternative read-
ings 93-4, 101; date 25, 28;
dialect 20-1; displaced pas-
sages 95-6; influence of
Marie de France 26, 51-3;
local allusions 26-8; mor-
phology 24-5, 107-10;
phonology 20-4, 104-7;
syntax 24, 110-23; versifica-
tion 123-33; comparison of
"Lai" and Gaimar, parallel
passages 34-8, axe incidents
41-3, Grim and 'uthlages'
44-5, geography 45-6, Ar-
gentille's dream 47-8, 67,
Arthurian connection 49-50,
71, 227, Argentille's char-
acter 53-5, Haveloc at Edel-
si's court 55-6, Sigar's recog-
nition 56-8, versification 123
-33.

INDEX

- "Lambeth Interpolation" 33, 'single combat' 240-1.
 61, 67. *sot* (vb.) 233.
 Line 125-7. Southwick 75-8.
 'strongest man' 40.
 Marie de France 26, 51-3.
 "Njals Saga" 66.
 Noun 107, 111-2.
 Orin 64-5.
 Orthography of Phillipps MS.
 137-40.
 Participle 24, 112.
 Pronoun 108-9, 112-5.
Qui ne falt 48-9.
 Ralf fitz Gilbert 75-6.
 Tanquerey 131, 225, 226, 227,
 228.
Tefort 242.
 'uthlages' 44-5.
 Verb 109-10, 116-9.
 Vising 2, 85, 86, 87, 89, 125,
 128, 225.
 Wasing 8, 9, 12, 62, 222.
 Winchester 73-4.
Wiscelet 72.
 'wonderful horn' 67.

CIRCULATION DEPARTMENT
202 Main Library

2

3

4

5

6

Renewals and recharges may be made 4 days prior to due date

DUE AS STAMPED BELOW

REC. CIR. JAN 15 '81

FEB 27 1996

~~APR 09 2001~~

NOV 10 1983
REC. CH. NOV 11 '83

001 10 1985

~~MAY 11 2003~~

REC, GEN, NOV 11 '68

~~CIRCULATION DEPT.~~

SEP 18 2004

~~OCT 31 2000~~

DEC 13 2003

MAY	20 2006
------------	----------------

RECEIVED IN Interlibrary Loan

rec'd circ. JAN 4 1984

1984

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, BERKELEY

FORM NO. DD6, 60m, 3/80 BERKELEY, CA 94720

GENERAL LIBRARY - U.C. BER



8000802566

600275

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA LIBRARY

